



LINDSAY
—
SCOTTISH
REVOLUTION

EDINBURGH

1754



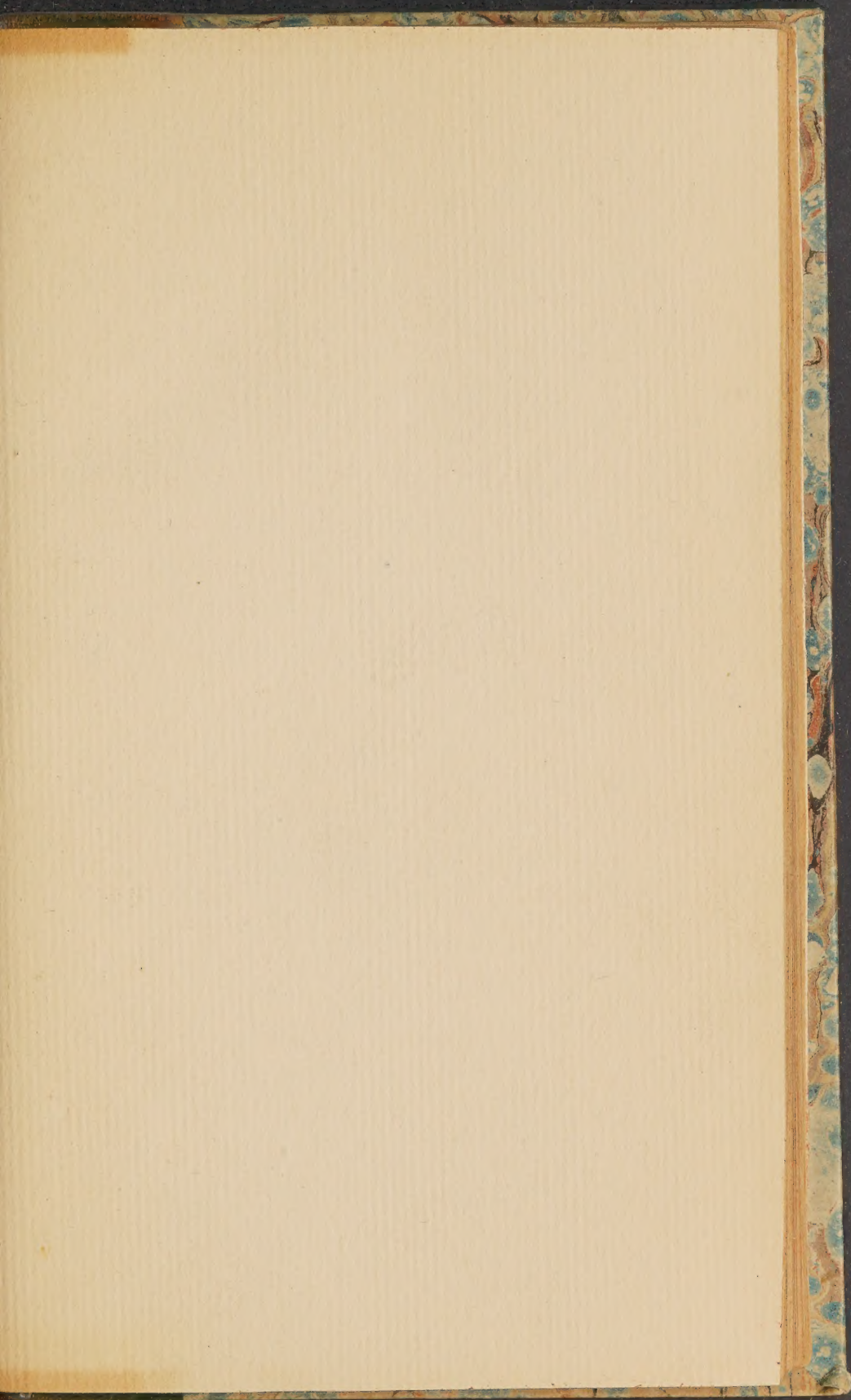


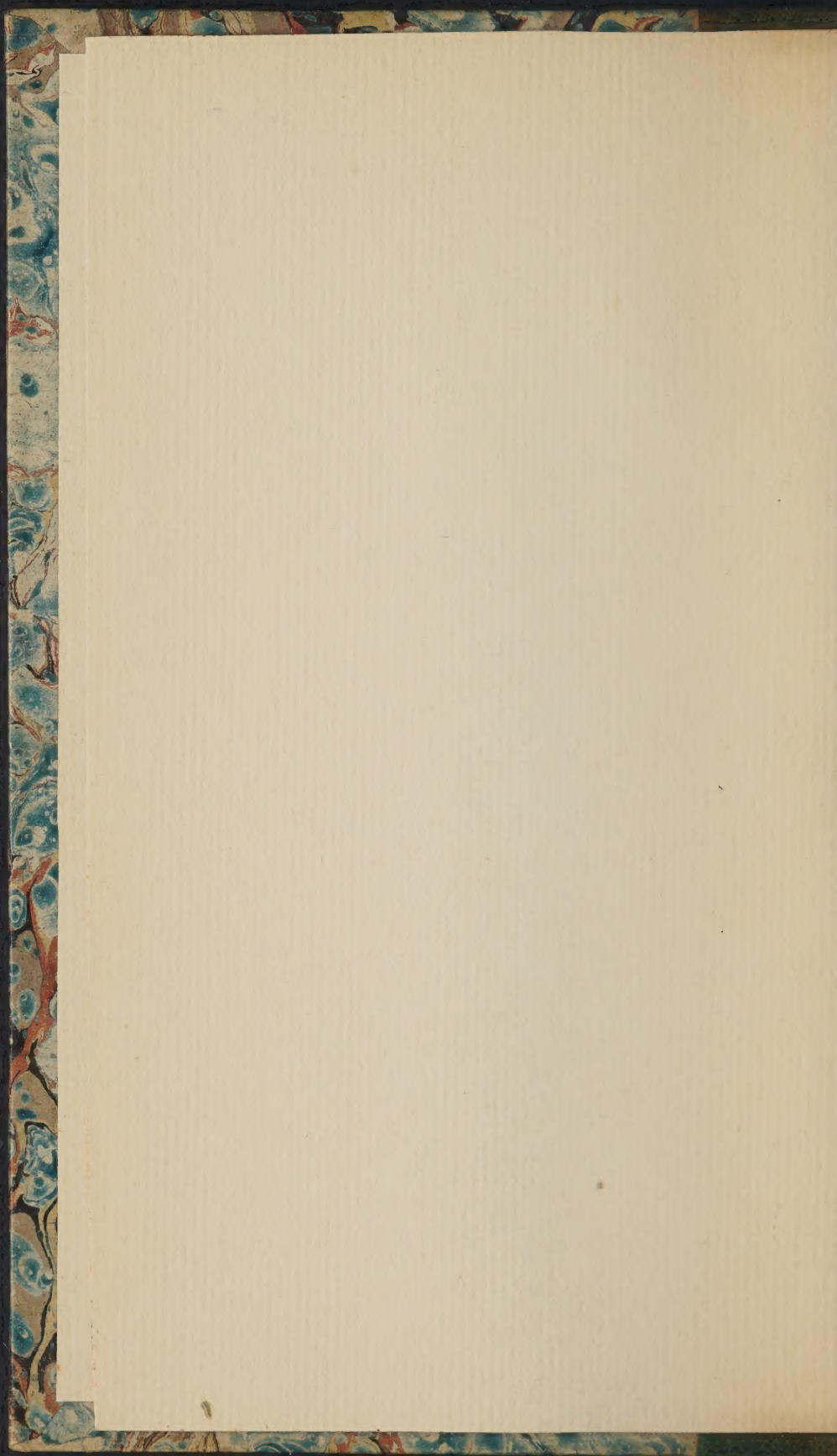


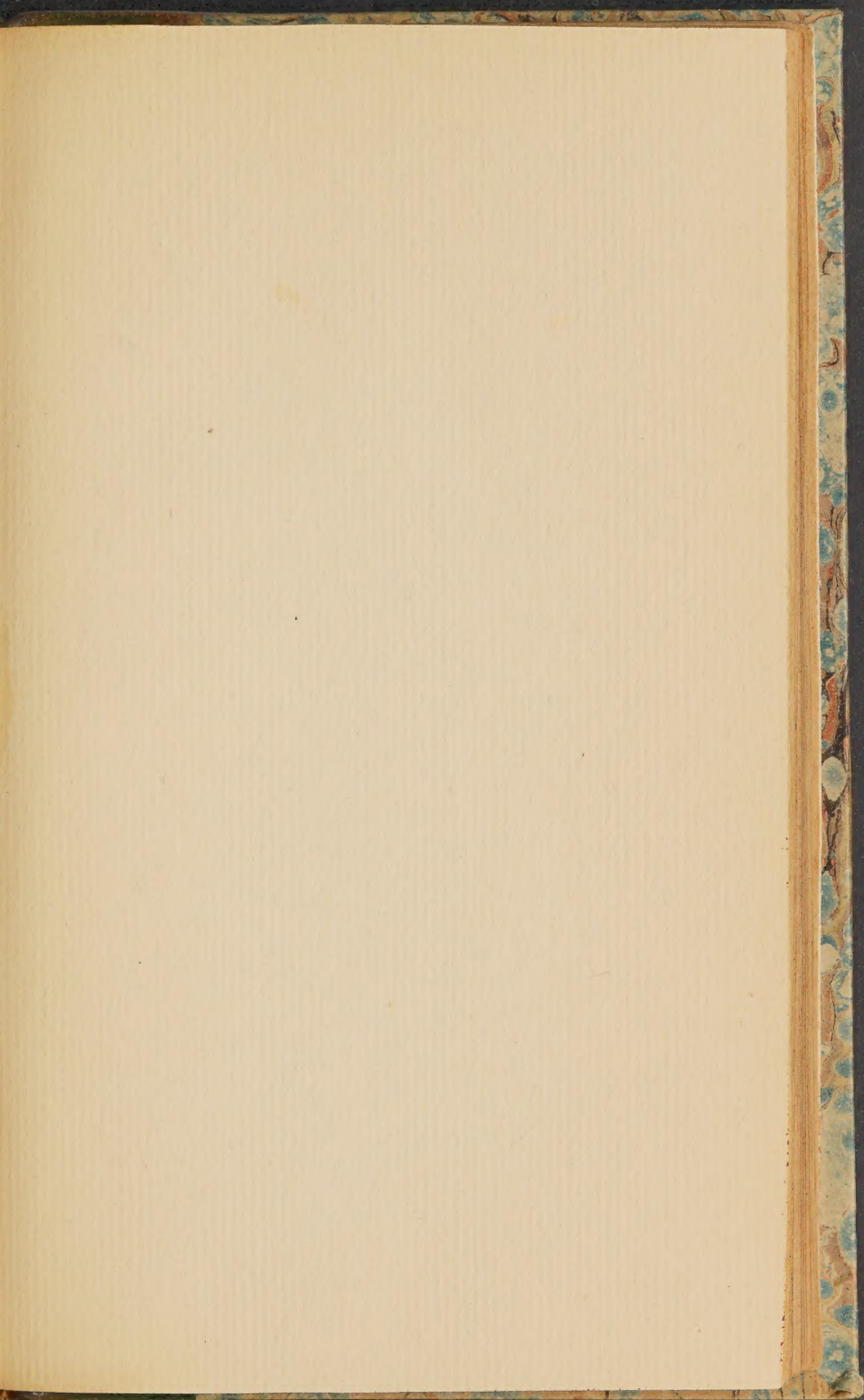
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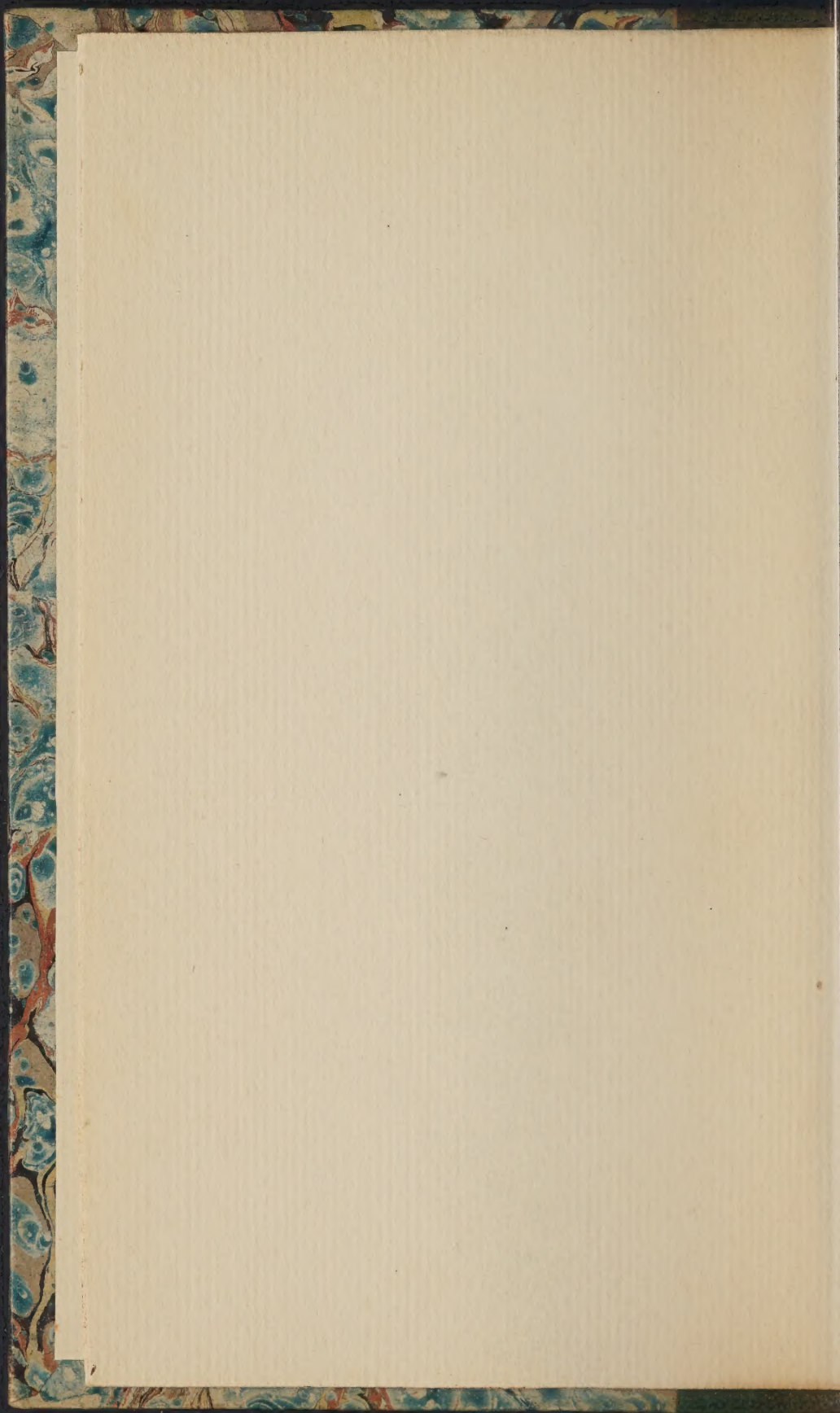
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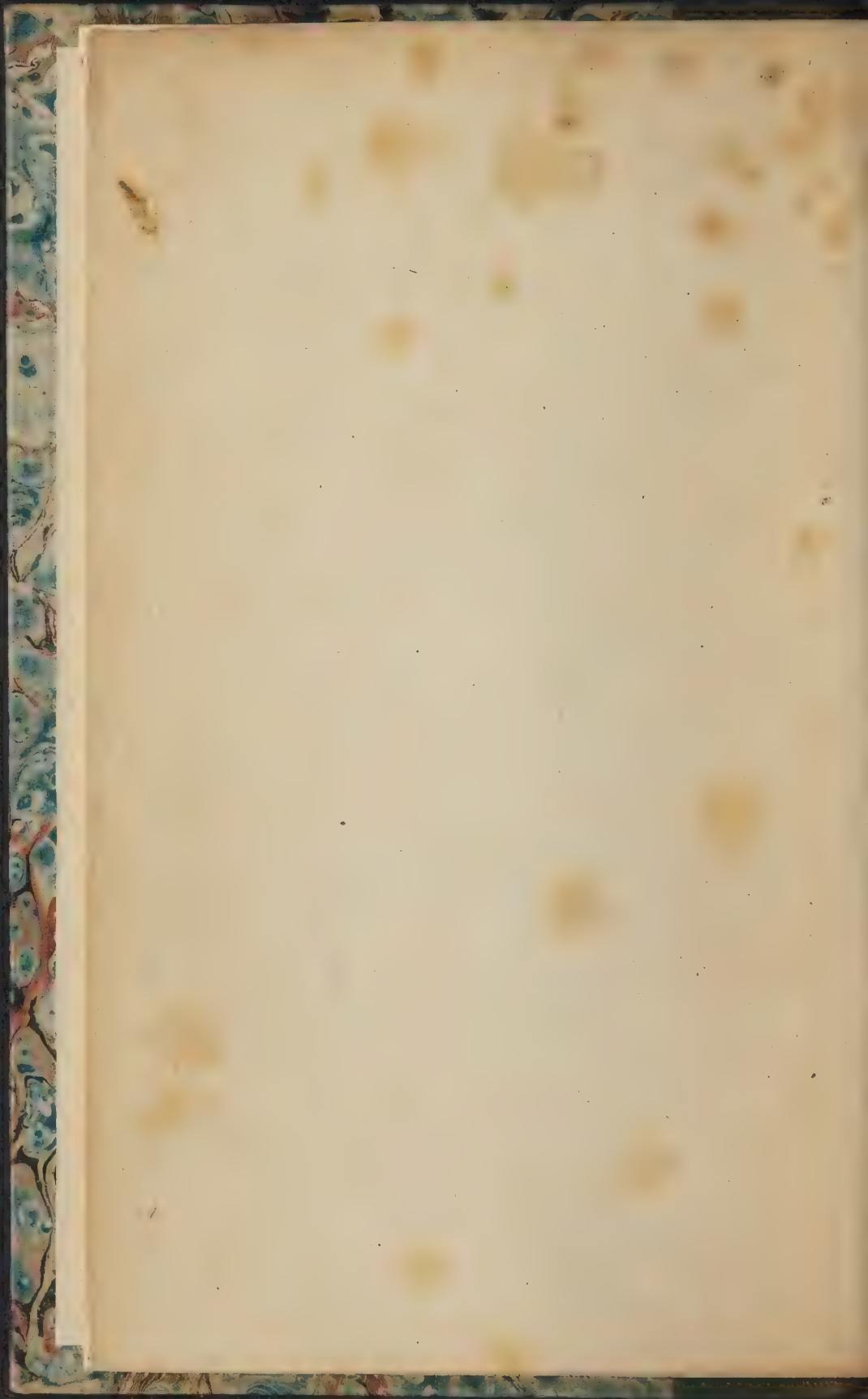




1 [BALCARRES, Earl of.] An Account o.
the Affairs of Scotland, relating to the
Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late
King James II. when in France, Svo, *half*
bound, 8s

1714

A valuable historical document. Park, in his edition
Walpole's "Noble Authors," says he had never met
with a copy.



A N
A C C O U N T
OF THE
AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND,

Relating to the
REVOLUTION in 1688.

As sent to the
Late King JAMES II. when in *France*.

B Y
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of BALCARRAS.

[Lindsay, 6. 2.]
The SECOND EDITION, corrected by the Assistance of
two Manuscripts.

To which is added,

A SHORT HISTORY of the Revolution in
SCOTLAND;

IN A

LETTER from a Scots Gentleman in AMSTERDAM
to his Friend at LONDON.

E D I N B U R G H:

Printed by W. RUDDIMAN jun. and COMPANY,
and sold by GIDEON CRAWFURD, and other Book-
sellers in Town. 1754.

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P R E F A C E.

NO Part of History has been esteemed so entertaining as that which treats of the Revolutions of States and Empires. These are commonly attended with such a Hurry and Bustle of Action, and a Variety of such extraordinary Events, forwarded and brought about often by the most unexpected and unlikely Means, that they frequently equal, if they do not sometimes exceed, in the marvelous what is recorded in the most extravagant Productions of the romantic Kind: And thus far are they preferable to those, that they have Truth for their Foundation. In a Mind, once heartily debauched with the Study of Novels and Romances, Truths of whatever Kind, and however important, become insipid; the Appetite for Fiction prevails, and nothing but Trash goes down. For such a Disease, the Study of History has been prescribed as a proper Remedy: And of all the Parts of History, none seems so well adapted for this End, as that of the Revolutions of States. In those of *Rome*, *Portugal*, and even of our own Country, may be found various Instances of military

ry Skill and Prowess, which equal any of the humanly possible Atchievements of *Don Bellianis*, *Amadis de Gaul*, or any of the heroes of the romantic Region. The Stomach, long accustomed to a pernicious Diet, cannot be brought from its bad Habit all at once: Time and Care are required for this Purpose. Here then is a very easy and proper Digression, from the Marvelous and Fictitious, to the Marvelous, but the True; and when the Mind is once accustomed to bear the Sight of Truth, in any Shape, the Cure is half performed, and it may be brought by Degrees to look upon her in the more calm and instructive Scenes of Life.

Neither are such Memoirs less calculated for affording the proper Funds for Instruction and useful Knowledge. In the History of the more still and quiet Periods of a Nation, while employed in the slow, but steady Advances of securing its Peace and Durability, and in promoting its internal Happiness, by Reformation of Laws, or Encouragement of Husbandry, Manufactures, Trade and Commerce, or even in securing the Safety and Honour of the State against the Attacks of troublesome or ambitious Neighbours, a great Field of Instruction and many useful Lessons tending to the Good of Society,

Society, and the Benefit of human Life are laid before us. But it must be confessed, that from these a Picture of social or political Man only can be formed; and without going farther, a sagacious Investigator of human Nature, from the Consideration of the Constitution and Polity of a State, will be very near able to guess at the particular Characters which must appear most frequently in it. But we are still left at a Loss for proper Materials from whence to draw our Knowledge of natural Man, or Man in the Abstract. It is not to be found in the well ordered State; for there every Man resembles his Parent, that is the State; his Appetites, his Passions, his Actions are squared to a certain Rule or Standard, that of the Laws; he is under a continual Restraint, and may be said to walk in Fetters.

But at the Period of a Revolution, or during the Struggles of a civil War, Things put on a very different Face, and are to be judged of by very different Methods: Rule and good Government then cease, and the Laws are silent. The natural Man then stands confessed to View; his Passions and Desires, which before were under Restraint on that Account, now display themselves with greater Vehemence,

hemence, and become his only governing Principle. As every Man thinks himself equally interested in the Quarrel, and of equal Importance in the Cause, he therefore assumes an Independence: a Liberty to act as he pleases without Check or Controul; but in so far as is necessary for his own Preservation. The more unruly Passions, Ambition, Pride, Avarice and Revenge, assume a loose Rein; and the Consequence is, that the more upright, humane and benevolent Persons have by far the greater Chance to be oppressed, ruined or cut off, in whatever Manner they behave on such an Occasion.

For, if any of them shall use their Endeavours in a quiet and peaceable Manner to get Matters set to Rights, they will be look'd upon with an evil Eye by the tumultuous and seditious, from whom they may expect Insults and Injuries when ever Occasion offers. On the other Hand, as the greatest Bravery is always to be found in Virtue's Company, such Persons will probably look upon themselves as called upon, by their bleeding Country to appear upon the Stage of Action, for the Relief of their fellow Subjects from the Oppressions of the wicked and licentious; whereby they may have an Opportunity of shining with great Lustre, and
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of displaying valuable Talents and Qualifications in the Face of the World, which, had it not been for an Occasion of this Kind, might perhaps have continued to be like a hidden Treasure, or at least the Knowledge of them confined within the narrow Circle of a few Friends or Acquaintances. And if they should finally succeed in their Undertaking, they will have for their Reward the pleasant Reflection that they have bestowed their Labour and Means in Acts of Justice and Clemency, and in restoring Peace to their Country. But if they happen to prove unsuccessful, they may indeed equally enjoy the Testimony of a good Conscience, but will have no Reason to look for Mercy; for, on such Occasions, the greater their Virtues are, the more severely will they be used.

This State of Things affords not only an extensive Field of moral Improvement, and many Opportunities for discovering the Passions, the Weaknesses, and peculiar Biasses of particular Minds, which other Times would have concealed; but also by tracing up these Troubles to their true Source, and observing them in their several Stages, the political Mind easily discovers the proper Remedies both for
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refettling a State after fuch Commotions, and for preventing them before they arife.

Sometimes indeed an extraordinary Perfon will appear, who may prove an Exception to thefe general Obfervations. The World has feen a Man, who, without any apparent excellency or greatnefs of Soul at his firft Appearance in the World, has notwithstanding, by a clofe Application, attained to a thorough Knowledge of Mankind, and by humouring the popular Frenzy, going into and propagating the enthuftick Madnefs of the Times, has firft fhouldered himfelf up above all his Compeers, and become their Head, and afterwards, by the Exercife of the deepeft and darkeft Schemes of political Cunning, has been able to feat himfelf in the fupreme Command of a Nation.

History likewise affords an Instance, where an ambitious young Prince, invited by the well-meaning Part of a Nation to interpoze betwixt them and their ill-advised King, in order to redrefs their Wrongs, without their carrying their Views farther, has improved the Opportunity, and by raifing and patronizing a Party poffef'd with Principles destructive of the Constitution itfelf, by Means of fecret Cabals and finifter Artifices, fo far
able

increased the general Pannick, as to disable even the firmest, and most resolute Adherents, and Friends of the King and Government, from acting their Part; and thereby found the Means to satiate his unbounded and unnatural Thirst of Rule, and made his Passage to the Throne easy and peaceable.

Of these and such-like great and remarkable Events, we cannot expect to be able to trace the secret Springs and private Wheels, from the Observation of the publick Transactions, or even from the cotemporary Histories. The World stares at surprizing and unexpected Events, and because sometimes the true Motives would not be look'd upon as very honourable, others extremely different are pretended, and with these the Historian too frequently contents himself. The Circumstances of the Times, while Matters are fresh, and the principal Actors still in the World, keep these Things concealed and lockt up in the Cabinets of Princes and their Ministers, or of the particular great Men who had a principal Share in them: And they generally make their Appearance first to the World in their natural Simplicity of Letters, or Memoirs; and of this last Sort is the following Account of the Revolution of Government

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which

which happened in this Kingdom in the Year 1688.

This Revolution has been justly esteem-
ed the most important Æra in our History ;
as a very great Change was thereby in-
troduced into the Constitution, and the
Government was settled upon Principles
little known, or at least little avowed, be-
fore that Period. Certain Distinctions,
and Party Differences likewise then arose,
and continue to this Day ; and all the in-
testine Broils and civil Commotions that
have happened since do respect it, and
have been open Attempts to unhinge the
Government as then settled. In our Days
we have seen and felt the dire Effects of
such Enterprizes ; and upon this Occasion
very one, who had any Concern for the
Good and Interest of his Country, natu-
rally cast back his Eyes to the Source of
these Disputes, in order to investigate the
Truth and Justice of the Settlements then
made. For this Purpose, Histories, the
readiest Fund of Information, were per-
used: But as these often differ, and as they
are all accused by one Party or other of
unfair and partial Dealing, a scrupulous
Investigator of Truth is put to the Ne-
cessity of reading every Account he can
fall upon. And as the following Memoirs
were hardly to be met with, but in the
Libraries

Libraries of the Curious, and these extremely incorrect; the Publishers thought they should do an acceptable Service, both for the Entertainment and Instruction of the Publick, in giving a new Edition of them, purged of the various Blunders to be met with in every Page of the former Edition.

They shall not pretend to apologize for the noble Author, as to the Account of Things given by him; that was a natural Consequence of the Engagements he was under, his Attachment to the Cause which he had espoused, and the Light in which Things appeared to himself; at the same Time his Character for Honour and Integrity set him above any Suspicion of a wilful Design to mislead.

As little do the other great Men mentioned in the Course of this Memorial, not without some Reflexions on their Character and Conduct, need any Apology at the Hands of the Publishers; for that seems to be sufficiently done already in the Introduction prefixed to the former, and this Edition.

On the whole, the Reader will be in no Danger of taking it for a full and complete Account of the Transactions of these Times. It is but one of many Helps which must necessarily be perused
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by any Person willing to come at the Bottom of Things. In such Cases, no Party is absolutely to be trusted in their Accounts of Things: and the Liberty of the Press, one of the many Instances of the happiness of our Constitution, gives an Opportunity for the opposite Party to be a constant Check and Controul upon the other's Writings: So that we are never in any great Danger of being grossly abused. This is the View of the present Publication, and if it is in any Degree attained it is the *Publishers* utmost Wish.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE publishing such nice Things as the Memorials of Ministers of State, as they are many Ways useful and very advantageous to the publick; so they are of a Nature so particular as to require some necessary Explanations on Behalf of the Editor.

The Memoirs here published are of this Kind. The Writer, as is usual in such Cases, speaks in the first Person, and treats the Characters of the Persons he writes of with a Freedom which nothing can excuse.

It is the Editors Opinion, that this is no Reflection on the Gentlemen named, nor is it published with that Intent. It is no new Thing for the Instruments of the Mal-administration of that Reign, to brand those who assisted in deposing King *James*, and bringing on the Revolution, in the most odious and most opprobrious Terms; this we always esteemed a Reputation rather than a Reflection; nor have the injured Gentlemen failed to be Gainers by it, the Scandal of it falling always upon the authors, not upon the Object.

The Matters treated of here, are such as relate in particular to the carrying on the Jacobite Cause in *Scotland*, and let us into much of the secret History of those Times immediately after the Revolution, and of the Transactions within

Doors, as we call it, among the Favourers of the late King *James*; and the Reader will be diverted with a great Variety of Transactions, and that by Persons who we have seen act in a quite different Sphere since that Time, and that with an undisputed Vigour and Fidelity.

Let no man think that it will lessen our just Esteem for the Characters of the several Persons of the first Rank, to say of them, that they were not at first in the Secret of the Revolution; some had no clear Notions of transposing their Allegiance from the Person of the Prince, and stuck closer to the Opinion of the divine Right of a Succession in the Line than others did: Some struggled with Scruples about the Oath of Allegiance taken to one King, and of its being indissoluble, but by the Death of the King to whom it was sworn; others were under personal Obligations to the King, and the like; some one Thing, some another; each Consideration, while it lasted, prevented the Person's coming in till those Obstacles were removed: and yet we have found by good Experience, that, when those Gentlemen had satisfied themselves, and come in, they have acted since with all that Fidelity, Usefulness, and steady Loyalty that can be imagined, and come up to a Zeal equal, if not superior, to those who were more early in the Cause.

Thus in *England* the Earl of *Nottingham*, and several others, protested against King *William's* coming to the Crown. The late Earl of *Godolphin* adhered to King *James*, and was one of the three whom King *James* sent with Propositions to the Prince of *Orange*, to know what were his

Demands. His Grace the Duke of *Sommerſet* was ſome Years before he came into a full Concurrency with thoſe Times; yet no Man doubts, now, the Sincerity of all thoſe noble Perſons in the Intereſt of their Country, and we now ſee them, or moſt of them, in Places of the higheſt Truſt in the Kingdom.

In *Scotland* it was the ſame Thing; nor will all that is ſaid or ſuggeſted here of his Grace the Duke of *Athole*, and the Lord *Rothes*, and others, be able to deface the Records of all the great and illuſtrious Things which they have ſince done in the publick Affairs; wherein they have ſhewed, and eſpecially at this Time, to the preſent Government, a ſincere Zeal and Affection for the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Laws and Liberties of their Country.

It is no Wonder that ſuch Men ſhould be traduced by every Author, who writes in the Cauſe of an arbitrary and popiſh Government, with whom it is not the Crime of theſe great Perſons that they acted or concurred at all, but that they acted no farther; and that, when they ſaw their Deſigns, they abandoned the Jacobite Intereſt, and came in ſincerely and effectually to the Revolution-principle: nay, it may very juſtly be ſaid of theſe Men, and of his Grace the Duke of *Athole* in particular, that the vigorous Steps they have taken ſince that Time, even above others, in the Proſecution and Settlement of a proteſtant Government, have abundantly made amends to their Country for their not coming ſo early into thoſe Things as ſome other Men might do.

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Upon these Accounts it is, that the Publishers of these Memoirs give this necessary Caution, as well to clear themselves from any Reflection in the publishing, as to guide the Thoughts of the Readers, to do Justice to the Characters of such honourable Persons, whom they shall find the Author falls upon in this Book, and that they may distinguish between a Jacobite Writer, giving a partial and unjust Account of Things and Persons to King *James*, and a faithful Historian stating Things to the World as their Consequences make them appear.

In the mean Time, the Publication of these Memorials will be found very useful, to let us see in what Posture Things stood at that Time; what the Designs of King *James* and his Party were, if they had prevailed; and who they were who carried on these Designs for him; and this, in short, is the true End of the Editors hereof in making them publick.

A BRIEF
ACCOUNT
OF THE
State of SCOTLAND, &c.

BY this which I humbly offer to your Majesty, I am far from pretending it is an exact Relation of all that has happened these six unhappy Years:

All I intend is to give you a short View of your Affairs in *Scotland* since the Beginning of the Revolution, that your Majesty may know, when you attempt the Recovery of your just Rights, whom you may rely on; for all these who have kept firm to their Duty, after so long and severe a Trial, you may safely depend on; and these who appeared at first against you, and now pretend to be in your Interest, having missed what they expected by this Revolution, you may be persuaded nothing will ever make them thoroughly so, but a sufficient Force. I shall say nothing in this out of Partiality, nor any Thing that is not consistent with my Knowledge, and can be denied by these I write of; there being so many Witnesses alive, who can assert the Truth of
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all I shall offer to give your Majesty an Account of; which I pretend I may do as justly, though not so correctly, as any of your Majesty's Subjects, having had the Honour to be so much trusted by your Majesty before this Revolution, and so deeply concerned in the unsuccessful Attempts that have been made for your Service.

How Discontents and Jealousies began, and disturbed the happy Peace the Nation was in after the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Argyle*, I cannot give your Majesty so good an Account, without going a little back, and letting you know the Reasons that were given for them.

The first Symptoms of Discontent that appeared in *Scotland*, after the Restoration of the King your Brother, were in the Earl of *Murray's* Parliament; for I reckon not the two tumultuous Risings in the *western* fanatick Countries, nor the Jarrings of Duke *Hamilton's* Party, as being nothing national, but to the contrary; for these were rather Means to shew the Concern and Affection of all the other Parts of the Nation for the King's Interest, wherever that came to be debated by his few insignificant Enemies.

Never King succeeded to a Crown, or Throne, more with the Love and Esteem of his Subjects than your Majesty did, generally to all in *Scotland*, of all Persuasions; nor could any Thing have disturbed your happy Reign, but the Jealousies and Fears that were industriously spread abroad, as if you had designed, by giving a general Liberty of Conscience, to ruin the Religion then established: If that had not been too much believed, and the Fears of again encouraging, by
such

such a Liberty, the Fanaticks, then almost intirely ruined, there would have been few that would have refused to comply with all your Majesty's Demands in that Parliament; but the Fears in bringing back the fanatick Party, almost then scattered through the World, who were always lying in wait for every Opportunity to ruin the Monarchy, and all those that were faithful in it, made even your faithfulest Subjects comply, but with an unwilling Mind, considering that such a Toleration would again set up a Party that had cost so much Care, Time and Treasure to destroy.

The Earl of *Murray* not succeeding in that Parliament, because of these Apprehensions, and his small Skill in managing such an Affair, where there were so many contrary Interests to unite, your Majesty dissolved that Parliament, and issued out a Proclamation of Indulgence and Toleration to all Persuasions.

This put the Episcopal Clergy in such a Rage, that they could not conceal it, neither in Discourses nor Pulpits; and the Presbyterians grew more insolent with it, and the Letter your Majesty wrote to them, then assembled at *Edinburgh*, wherein you told them your Predecessors had been severe, and ruined several of them, but they might be confident of your Protection against all their Enemies.

This, and the Earl of *Melfort's* employing *James Stuart* to draw most of the publick Papers sent down, who was known to be a professed and inveterate Enemy to the Crown and your Order, made the episcopal Clergy, at that Time, say and do many Things of which afterwards they
heartily

heartily repented when it was too late; for their Dislike of the Presbyterian Toleration had no small influence on the greatest Part of the Nation, and their Jealousy, unfortunately meeting with the inveterate Malice of the Presbyterians, gave the greatest Advantage, could have been wished for, to the unbounded Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*; for nothing ever made him make so bold an Attempt but these Divisions, and the Jealousies that were industriously spread abroad, few being satisfied.

The episcopal Clergy or Party were so, out of Fear to lose what they had long professed; and tho' the Presbyterians, for a few Months first after getting their Liberty, seemed satisfied, yet some grew as malicious as ever, being disappointed of getting the Government into their Hands as they hoped, and a Revenge on their Enemies.

The Order your Majesty sent down, commanding all in any Office, either Civil or Military, to give up their Commissions, and take up new ones, without taking the Test, made all in Employment liable to several Penalties of the Laws, and occasioned a great Consternation; but not near to what was occasioned by another Order, wherein all in Employments were commanded to take out Remissions for breaking of the Laws, which they had done by your Majesty's Command; by which they thought themselves sufficiently warranted, as may appear by a Letter the Council sent to your Majesty, wherein not only they, but the Judges, gave it as their Opinion, that your Majesty's giving a Remission was sufficient to hinder any being liable to the Law, especially considering, that the Penalty was due to yourself;
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but, notwithstanding of this Advice, a severe Proclamation was sent down by the Earl of *Melfort*, That all should take out these Remissions in three Months, and pay for them Three Pounds *Sterl.* to himself, and Twenty Shillings to *James Stuart*, who was to give them out; and such as did not take them out to be pursued for Breach of Law, and be rendred incapable for ever thereafter of your Mercy: this was thought very hard, even by the loyalest of your Subjects, to be paying for such Remissions, and especially to be giving so much to Mr. *Stuart*, who had, but some Months before, got a Remission for plotting and contriving against your Majesty and Government, and was generally believed at that Time, by all that wished well to your Majesty's Government, to be underhand betraying it: nor has their Apprehensions been false; for, since the Revolution, he has bragged to hundreds, that he gave several Advices designedly to ruin it, and to advance the Interest of his Friends.

When first this Order was read in Council, all were silent; but next Day a Representation was sent up to your Majesty, both by the Council and secret Committee, to shew how inconvenient it would be if such an Order were proclaimed; nor was there any Man more against it than your *Chancellor*, and those you trusted most.

Your Majesty was pleased on these Representations to discharge its being farther pressed; but it gave such bad Impressions of some who were employed, that nothing will ever take it off; and it was generally believed that nothing, but your Majesty's own Goodness, could have hindered a Thing that would have been so advantageous to
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the Contrivers, though dishonourable to all that served you: Nothing vexed the episcopal Clergy more, at that Time, than to see some Fanaticks put both into the Council and Session; but all these Discontents were but like smothered Fire, until the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, which afterwards broke out more violently: for, after that, several of the episcopal Clergy were so far misled, that they left off in a few Weeks the praying for the Prince of *Wales*, and were so apt not only to believe the most calumnious Reports of that Time, but to insinuate in their People Fears of Popery and arbitrary Government; which did no small Prejudice, and made many, who have appeared since of a far different Temper, extremely satisfied with the Noise of the Prince of *Orange's* coming over; being so weak as to believe he made such an Attempt only to secure the Laws, and relieve them of their Fears: But these Discontents of the episcopal Party, though they cannot be justified, yet they proceeded more from Jealousies than from any ill Design against your Majesty's Government; but the Presbyterians being encouraged by their Friends in *England*, and the Rebels who fled into *Holland*, grew then more insolent than ever, being put in Hopes again, by another Way, of getting entirely the Government into their own Hands, and a Revenge on their Enemies, which were the two Things they so long wished for an Opportunity to have, but would never have attained, if the Indulgence granted them had not brought them together from the *West-Indies*, so that they appeared in far greater Numbers than could well have been believed to be yet

remaining, after so long a Tract of Discouragement. They not only were joined together, but many, that never were of that Profession before, joined with them, as all the discontented of the Nation has ever done since the Reformation, making Religion always the Pretext to gain their other Ends.

The Jealousy of the Catholicks did not a little heighten the Discontents of both these Parties likeways; and though they were not so afraid of them as of each other, because of their small Number; yet, with very uneasy Eyes, they beheld them coming into the chief Posts, both in Civil and Military Employments; and the Presbyterians, by the Liberty granted to all, had their Share, and were also admitted into Employments which they had never before, but when Necessity compelled former Kings; yet they were so far from being thankful for it, that, both in their Pulpits and Conversation, they openly declared they thought themselves nothing obliged to any Toleration they had, it being only given to introduce the Catholicks, and ruin Protestants among themselves; nor were these Jealousies and Apprehensions only among the Clergy.

For, after your Majesty had given Warrant to the *Chancellor*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, and myself, to inquire of all the Officers of State, Judges, and Officers of the Army, their Opinion and Consent, for taking off the penal Laws and Tests; most of them, though they consented to it, yet, had such a cruel Apprehension of other Things farther to be pressed upon them, that it made them extremely uneasy; and the turning out of Sir *George Mackenzie* from being
your

your Advocate, and the Lords *Harcus* and *Edmiston* from the Session, for refusing to consent to what was offered; heightened extremely the Humour; for they were esteemed of the greatest Integrity and Learning of any in that Judicature; and it seems not without Reason: for, though they were humorous in that, yet, after and since the Revolution, they have behaved themselves exactly well, and refused all the Offers of Employment which were made them.

Except for these Fears and Jealousies that were spread abroad like a Plague through all the Land, and the too covetous taking of Money by some of your Servants, (but that I will not meddle with, being resolved to say nothing here but what consists with my own knowledge) all other Things in the Government were as easy, and managed with as much Justice as was ever known in any Age; for never was a Treasury and Exchequer more favourable in all Sorts of Compositions, which your Majesty allowed us to do; nor was there ever before, in the Council or Session, more Justice, and quick Dispatch of Business, nor Soldiers better paid, and with less Trouble in the Country, which the worst of your Enemies must always acknowledge.

In this Condition was the Kingdom till September 1688. when your Majesty sent down an Express to your secret Committee, which consisted of seven, viz. your Chancellor, Marquis of *Athole*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Sir *George Lockhart*, and myself, to let us know you expected an Invasion from *Holland*, which at first was thought by the generality of the

the Nation to be absolutely impossible, and only a Pretext to raise Money, or draw the Army together, for other Designs, which added still to former Jealousies; but these mistaken Fears were quickly suppressed, when they knew of such Preparations as your Majesty was making in *England*, and were likewise informed by Seamen, coming daily from *Holland* of the great Preparations there, and Noise of a War quickly to break out.

Your Majesty's Council appeared all of them ready and willing to concur in every Thing that could be offered for serving you, and it seemed for a Time the Noise of a foreign War had banished their Jealousies and Fears from among them; and, from all Quarters of the Country, the Gentlemen and Burgeses sent to the Council new Offers of Duty; the Militia were ordered to be raised, and modelled to a fourth Part, and the forty Days Pay, which the Country is obliged to of the whole, would have paid this fourth Part six Months; the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, &c. furnished, the Gentry modelled into Troops, and Orders sent to the Chiefs of the *Highland* Clans to have their Men in Readiness, which, with the standing Forces, would have made a considerable Army.

On the first Notice of the Invasion, Captain *Mackay*, Nephew to the Major-general, was taken up, upon Suspicion of having laid down his Employment in *Holland* to be the better able to serve the Prince of *Orange* in what he intended, which was reasonable to believe by a Letter, found upon him, written by himself to his Uncle, wherein he expressed great Affection to

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the Service of the Prince of *Orange*, and desired his Uncle to let him know, that, though he had quitted his Service, yet he hoped in the Condition he was now in, he would be more useful, which he was willing to do with the Hazard of his Life, and that he wanted only to know how he might put his Intentions in Execution. He was examined by the secret Committee several Times, but gave his Oath frankly, he knew nothing of any Design, and meant nothing by these Expressions but a Compliment to the Prince, who had concerned himself in getting him a rich Marriage: but, after the Prince of *Orange's* coming over, he bragged of knowing all the Design, and valued himself for swearing frankly rather than discover it.

There was likewise taken one *Blackadder*, a Doctor of Physick, who was sent over, by the banished Lords and Gentlemen in *Holland*, to encourage their Friends, and give them an Account of the Inclinations and Affections of the People to the Prince of *Orange's* Interest; the only Traffick could be made out against him, (for he likewise would disclose nothing, but rather perjure himself in what he knew) was betwixt Lord *Murray*, Son to the Marquis of *Athole*, and one *Murray* of *Tippermuir*; for, by a Letter taken on him from Mr. *Murray* to the Lord *Murray*, he told him he had delivered his Message to the Prince of *Orange*, who received it very kindly, and desired *Blackadder* to give him Account weekly of all that passed, and to let him know how the Nation stood affected to the Prince of *Orange*. More might certainly have been known from the Doctor, if the Marquis of *Athole*, who had been lying

lying in Wait, from the first Noise of the Invasion, for a Pretext to appear discontent, had not taken this Opportunity : He complained highly that any who belonged to him should be suspected, and that all the Work made about *Blackadder* was only designed against his Family ; so to satisfy him, the Doctor was no farther meddled with, that he might not have the least Ground at such a Time to complain : But all this did not satisfy him ; for in all Meetings, both in the secret Committee and Council, he affected an Air of chagrin and discontent, though, to please him, we were too indulgent to his Humours ; yet a little after, pretending Sicknefs, he retired to the Country, until he was assured of the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and then he returned, and acted a Part more to the Prejudice of your Interest, than the most inveterate of your Enemies was then able to do ; the chief Reason he gave for his Discontent was Family Picks betwixt him and the Earl of *Perth*, and Fears of his doing him ill Offices ; but it was known to all the Nation, that his Hopes of advancing his Interest by the Prince of *Orange*, on the Account of his Relation by his Lady, Daughter of the Earl of *Derby*, was the chief Motive of all his Actions ; or, at least, by his seeming Discontent with the present Government, he thought he would secure himself of all that your Majesty had bestowed upon him but too prodigally : after he withdrew, every Thing went on smooothly in the Council, and even the *western* and fanatick Gentry were contending for Employments in the militia Troops ; but, by what afterwards appeared, it was with a Design to betray.

Nor

Nor was there any of them more forward in offering his Service than Sir *James Montgomery*, though, at the same Time, he was assisting the Lord *Lorn* to borrow a considerable Sum of Money to carry him to *Holland*. The Reason given out, for borrowing of this Money, was to make a Present to the Countess of *Melfort*; nor could they have made a Pretext that would have past more easily, for it was reasonably believed; otherways the lending of such a Sum by such disaffected Persons at so critical a Time, could not have missed to be suspected, and his Journey stopped.

One Mr. *Campbell* was sent over by the Lord *Stairs*, to invite him over by Warrant from the Prince of *Orange*, but I believe told little of the Design, though Sir *James* bragged after the Revolution of his knowing all, and of his having Messages from the Prince of *Orange*, but was contradicted by all who were intrusted in it, who were few enough: This was the first Appearance of Sir *James Montgomery*; nor had he any Manner of Influence except with some few of the most biggoted Fanaticks, who had made a Party, and exclaimed against the rest of their Profession for accepting of the Indemnity, or taking any Favour from the Government; nor would any Thing please them, nor would any six of them agree, being left to their own Discretion; but, notwithstanding these Divisions, all Parties kept within Bounds until the calling away of the standing Forces, when the Government was left bare, and at the Discretion of their Enemies.

About the Beginning of *September*, your Majesty ordered the Earl of *Perth* to let you know how the Presbyterian Ministers intended to behave

have themselves at that Juncture, judging, as they behaved, their Followers would surely follow their Example ; but he believing very justly that they would not use Freedom with him, desired me to employ some Person to try their Pulse. Sir *Patrick Murray* was then one that had not attached himself apparently to any Party, but was generally well with all Parties : I desired him to go to some of the leading Men that were then assembled in Town, and tell them from whom he was sent, and that your Majesty, considering the many Favours you had shewn them, expected they would now shew their Gratitude in influencing their People to join heartily against the unnatural Invasion, and that, according to their present Behaviour, they might expect Favour or Protection from you for the future. They answered him drily, that they were but a few then, but in a Fortnight there would be a general Meeting of them all ; that then they doubted not but they would give your Majesty Satisfaction, with such plausible Answers. When that Time came, they put off giving any positive Answer, until they had new Assurances from their Friends in *Holland*, and made high with Expectations that the Prince of *Orange* would put all the Government, both of Church and State, in their Hands ; and then they sent me Word by Sir *Patrick Murray*, that they owned God had made the King an Instrument of shewing them some Favour ; but, since they were convinced, that what Favour was shewn them was only with a Design to ruin the protestant Religion, they would meddle no more with him, nor have any Communion with any that belonged to him ; especially since
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he employed in the chief Offices Papists, or Persons popishly inclined, and so desired to be excused from giving any farther Answer, but that they would behave in this Juncture as God would inspire them. This Answer shewed plainly what was to be expected from them, and, from that Time forward, both they and the Gentry of their Party took like Pains to disguise their Resolutions; but still Fears of Accidents kept them from doing any Thing the Government could publickly punish; nor were any of them throughly in the Affair, or trusted in it, so much as to make them venture any Thing for what they so much desired. If any was thoroughly trusted, it was the Earl of *Annandale*, then at *London*. At the Beginning of the Indulgence he turned Fanatick, but in a few Months wearied of it, and came to the Earl of *Perth*, and told him, it was only his Youth that misled him in joining with such a rebellious, mutinous Pack, but that hence-forward he would serve the King heartily, and that he intended to go for *London* immediately, and offer his Service.

Therefore he desired his Recommendation, which he got, and was very kindly entertained by your Majesty, and was at first, to have had the Earl of *Airley's* Troop of Horse; but the Earl of *Airley* coming up, and not being willing to part with it, he had the Promise of a Regiment, which he was to raise in the *Southern* Countries; but finding your Majesty's Affairs in greater Disorder than he imagined, he chused rather to join with some disaffected Lords in *England*.

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The first to whom he proposed it was the Earl of *Drumlanrig*; he told him he found, by the Company he constantly kept, he was not satisfied with the present Government, and that he was as much dissatisfied himself as any, though he was forced to dissemble it, until he got some Things done he came for; that he was resolved never to draw a Sword against the Prince of *Orange*, and that, if he and his Friends would trust him, he would serve them faithfully, and ruin their Fate.

The Earl of *Drumlanrig* told him he was joined with others, and could not act without their Liberty, but he would speak to them of it, and give an Answer. The next Day he appointed him to meet him in the City, with the Duke of *Ormond*, Mr. *Boyle*, and Mr. *Maul*, who belonged to the Princess of *Denmark*; after they had dined, the Earl of *Drumlanrig* told him, he had spoke to Prince *George*, and the rest there with him, of what he had offered; that they all willingly accepted of it, but expected he would give an Oath of Secrecy the most binding Way they could demand, which he also readily promised: So Mr. *Maul* officiated, and gave him the Sacrament, and took his Oath, that he would go in with them to the Prince of *Orange* whenever he landed; but, when it came to the Push, his Heart failed him, and he excused himself, by alledging, that he had got a Misfortune; for which, when the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, he was for some Days in a Messenger's Hands, which made him immediately quit them, and join with those intended to serve your Majesty in the following Convention. What more
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of this Kind of Treachery was carried on, I cannot be positive ; for I believe very few *Scotsmen* were concerned in it ; but I doubt not, if they had, but they would have valued themselves on it with the rest : for severals did so that were not concerned, nor could any such treacherous Designs have been concealed, considering the Pains both the Secret Committee and Council took to find them out : Considering likewise, how intirely well affected to your Majesty was the little Army you had in *Scotland*, which was so advantageously posted through the Kingdom, that even the most disaffected lived peaceably, expecting the Event.

But so soon as your Majesty sent your Orders, that they should be brought together, and be in a Readiness to march into *England*, then all discontented People and Fanatics in the Nation thought they had hit on their own Time, believing your Majesty's Affairs in *England* must be in a miserable Condition, when you had Need of so small a Force, and for it to leave a Government naked, and a whole Country open, which otherways might have been so useful to you.

When first the Earl of *Melfort*, by your Majesty's Order, wrote of it to the Secret Committee, they immediately sent an Express to lay before your Majesty the Inconvenience of it, and likewise to propose a Design they had, with it, and the modelled Militia, and a Detachment of the *Highlanders*, to make an Army of 13000 Men, with Half a Years Pay, to have lain either upon the Borders of *Scotland*, or in the North of *England*; which certainly would have hindred all those Risings in the North of *England*, which
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made a Noise so far above what really they were, and proved so prejudicial to your Affairs: But, instead of following this Advice, which was the unanimous Opinion of the whole Council, the Earl of *Melfort* wrote down an Order, not subscribed by your Majesty, but only in your Majesty's Name, ordering that the Army should immediately march; and that, if any of your Servants were afraid to stay behind, they might come along with the Army. With a sorrowful Heart your Majesty's Orders were obeyed; for the Consequences were too evident: so, about the Beginning of *October*, they began their March.

The Council after that ordered the modelled Militia to be brought together about *Edinburgh*, and some to be quartered in the Suburbs. But these new-raised Men, that would quickly have been brought into Order, if mingled with modelled Troops, signified little to keep up the Face of Authority; nor was their Commander, Sir *George Monro*, better of his Trade than the rest, having lost any Thing he had learned in *Germany* long ago, nor had he retained any Thing but affected Nastiness, Brutality, and Fannaticism: Necessity, and the Recommendation of some, more out of Friendship to him than the Service, persuaded the Council to give him a Commission, until your Majesty's Pleasure should be known, which afterwards you confirmed.

The Presbyterians, and discontented Party, seeing the miserable and abandoned Condition your Affairs were in, took their Opportunity accordingly: For, so soon as the Army was past the Border, *Edinburgh* was filled with Numbers of them of all Degrees, from all Places in the Kingdom,

dom, who then thought it safe to take off their Masks, and meet publickly in several Clubs, where they deliberated as formerly what was fit for them to do in that Conjunction, as if they had been allowed by Authority; and the Council and Secret Committee knew, from some Spies they had among them, all that past at their Meetings; yet they were forced to overlook what they had not Force to suppress. The chief of these Meetings were the Earl of *Glencairn*, Earl of *Crawford*, Earl of *Dundonald*, Earl of *Tarras*, Lord *Ross*, Lord *Mersington*, a Fanatick, a few Months before put into the Session, Sir *James Montgomery*, *Anstruther* younger, Mr. *William Hamilton*, Mr. *William Lockhart*, *Murray* of *Philliphaugh*, *Rickarton*, *Drummond*, *Blair* of *Greenock*, *Mochrum*, *Livingston*, Master of *Burleigh*, Mr. *Francis Montgomery*, Major *Buntin* of *Baillie-Hall*, *George Stirling* Surgeon, one *Menzies* a Merchant, *Bruce* of *Broom-hall*, *Pitliver*, *Reidie*, *Luchat*, the Master of *Melvil*, Lord *Bargeny*, Sir *Patrick Murray*, *Ormiston*, &c. Several joined with them afterwards, but these were the chief Beginners and leading Men amongst them, until the banished Rebels from *Holland* met them at *London*, and eclipsed them. The presbyterian Ministers did not publickly meet with them, but, according to their ancient Custom, nothing was determined without their Advice and Approbation. One of the first Things they took into their Consideration, was, how to hinder all Correspondence betwixt your Majesty and your Council, which Sir *James Montgomery* undertook, and did it so effectually, that few Packets mist him, which was easy to
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be done, having Correspondence both about *Berwick* and in the North of *England*: Yet, notwithstanding all the Care they took, some Posts came through, until the rising of the Northern Counties in *England*, with the Earl of *Dentigh* and Lord *Lumley*; then they opened all Packets, and only suffered such Letters to pass as they thought fit; some Expresses were sent down by the Earl of *Melfort* to his Brother, but, for Fear of discouraging, always made Things so much better than what was reported by these Meetings at *Edinburgh*, or other Letters that came down.

The Secret Committee being in great Perplexity to know the Truth, this obliged them likewise to seize the Packet, and open the Letters; but it had been done so often before, both by the discontented Party in *Scotland*, and the Lords in the North of *England*, that there was little or nothing learned by it; for several Weeks after, there came neither Packet nor Express; at last, one came with an Account of the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and that your Majesty was marched down to meet him, yet the Earl of *Melfort* gave his Brother all the Hopes imaginable; but the Viscount of *Dundee* wrote in so different Terms to me, that my Lord Chancellor resolved to send one to receive your Majesty's Commands, to let him know the Truth of what was doing; for which one Baillie *Brand* Merchant in *Edinburgh*, was sent Express; he was recommended by the Viscount of *Tarbat*, as one most proper, being accustomed to travel that Road about his own Affairs, and so might be less capable of Suspicion.

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The Chancellor by him gave you an Account of the bad State the Nation was in since the calling away of the Forces, and the Presbyterians declaring intirely against you ; but the Messenger betrayed his Trust, and went straight into the Prince of *Orange's* Camp, and was introduced by Doctor *Burnet*. He told the Prince he was sent by severals to offer their Service to his Highness. This was no sooner known, but the Viscount of *Tarbat* was extremely suspected to be one of these ; but I am convinced he had not, at that Time, any Correspondence ; for there was no Man in the Nation in such Apprehensions of Danger, after he read the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, and saw by it he intended to sacrifice all to satisfy the Presbyterians, and these Rebels that did come over with him, and who were for the most Part the Viscount of *Tarbat's* personal Enemies.

This Way failing of getting your Commands, the Council ordered three of their Number to wait on your Majesty, the Viscount of *Tarbat*, the President of the Session, and myself, were the three ; the other two fearing to get through, and not being able to ride Post, they excused themselves ; so I was sent alone. Some Days before I left *Edinburgh*, it was spread abroad that the Rabble of the Town designed to make an Uproar, which was purposely set about by these Meetings, to frighten these you trusted, and by some who had a-mind to be rid of my Lord Chancellor and to have the Government in their own Hands, that they might be in a better Condition to make their Court to the Prince of *Orange*. The Chief of those was the Marquis of *Atkole*,
who

who thought that so early an Appearance for the Prince of *Orange* could not but be extremely meritorious; nor could they have done it more effectually than by stirring up the Rabble against the Government, and by making a Mutiny and exclaiming publickly against these Things mentioned by him in his Declaration.

The News of the Treachery of your Army, and of your Majesty's being come back to *London*, was no small Encouragement to them that designed to make their Court, especially to the Viscount of *Tarbat*, and Sir *John Dalrymple*; who, though the Marquis of *Athole* appeared the Head of all, were yet the Springs by which every Thing was moved; and ordered so well, that he was satisfied with the Vanity of the Name, whereas they were sure of the Profit without Hazard. For if your Majesty had succeeded contrary to their Expectation, all the Stress of the Disorders they could fairly put upon him; and if the Prince of *Orange* prospered, they knew they had such Friends about him, that they would keep all the Honour of ruining the Government, and getting the Council to declare for him.

Their chief Design, to get this the better accomplished, was to get rid of the Lord Chancellor. The Marquis of *Athole* designed it, both out of Family-pick, and to get the Government into his Hands, as falling due to him after the Chancellor's Departure, being next Officer of State. The Way he proposed for this was, to have all the Troops disbanded, which he knew would have all been at the Chancellor's Devotion, except their miserable General; and, bad as they
were,

were, would have been better than could have been brought against them: For the Council having kept some of the inferior Officers of the Earl of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, that came down for Recruits, put them in tolerable Order.

The Viscount of *Tarbat* proposed in Council, that these Troops might now be disbanded, being an unnecessary Charge, since he believed there would be no more to do with Soldiers, and the Prince of *Orange* had declared in his Declaration the Illegality of keeping up Forces in Time of Peace.

The Earl of *Perth*, who was desirous to do every Thing to satisfy, and not considering their Design in it, easily consented to it, and trusting some of these he saw most earnest for it, next Day they were all dismissed, except four Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, for bringing in the publick Money. So soon as they had got them disbanded, the Marquis of *Atbole*, and the rest of the Counsellors that were of his Party, came to my Lord *Chancellor* in his own Lodgings, and told him, they thought themselves no longer in Safety to meet in Council where he was, and several others incapacitate by Law; but if he and they would retire, it would soon be seen how vigorously they would act in the King's Service, and get all the Rabble pacified, and the discontented Meeting dismissed. Before he gave them any positive Answer, he retired into another Room, where the Duke of *Gordon*, and all the catholick Council, were met upon the Noise of this Advice of the Marquis of *Atbole*. He told them what had past; all unanimously advised him to be gone, and that it would look better

better to do it voluntarily, than be compelled, as certainly they would do now, when they had begun, and had all the Rabble and discontented Meetings on their Side: several others likewise, out of Concern for him, gave him the same Advice, thinking it dangerous for him to trust an enraged Multitude. These Advices of his Friends determined him; so he returned to these Lords, took his Leave of them, and went straight to the Country. Before he went away, the Rabble began to meet in Companies upon the Streets, being encouraged by these Lords and Gentlemen that I have already named. *George Stirling* and *William Menzies*, so soon as they saw them beginning, made Drums be beat through all the Town, and, when the Inhabitants came running out to see what was the Matter of so sudden an Alarm, they had their Friends posted in all Quarters of the Town to tell them, that all the Townsmen that were protestants should immediately gather themselves together for their own Defence; for they were certainly informed, that a great Number of Papists had got into the Town, and designed to burn it that Night. This made an Alarm through all the City; few staid in their Houses. When they were all gathered together, and saw no Appearance of any such Thing, some that were set there of purpose, proposed, that, since there were so many honest Men got together, it would be a Pity they should part without doing something; and that they could not propose a more worthy Action than to go down to the Abbay, and pull down the Chapel. It was no sooner proposed, but (as in all such
tumul-

tumultuous Meetings) all cried, *Agreed*, and, in a tumultuous Manner, Men and Boys marched away. Captain *John Wallace*, who was then in the House with six Score Men, raised a little before by the Council on that Design, so soon as he heard they were coming, sent a Serjeant to desire them not to come near, otherways he would be obliged to do his Duty, and fire: But notwithstanding of his firing, they pressed on, and he gave them a Volley of Firelocks among them, which killed about a Dozen, and wounded thrice as many. On the first they immediately ran, and the Noise was industriously spread by the Gentlemen and Lords, sitting at the same Time at their Meeting, as if *Wallace* had made a Butchery of the Inhabitants; and to make it inflame the more, there were few Burghers or People in Town of any Consideration but were said to have Children killed. The first Meeting was but of the meaner Sort, and Boys, but, after this, the whole Inhabitants got to Arms, and the discontented Meetings came out to the Streets, and offered their Service to head them, which was gladly received. But as they were going again against the Captain, one of them proposed, that what they were going about might, some Time or other, be challenged, therefore he advised them, that, since they were sure of the Marquis of *Atbole*, and some other Council-lords, he might be desired by some of their Number, to give them a publick Warrant for what they were to do, and likeways might order the Concurrence of the Magistrates. The Advice was thought very reasonable, and Deputies were sent to the Marquis. He immediately

ately sent for the Earl of *Breadalbine*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, and Sir *John Dalrymple*; these four signed a Warrant to the Magistrates that they should go down in their Robes, and with the Help of their Train-bands, Militia, and Regiment, and Town-company, should assist the Rabble against Captain *Wallace*, and force him to deliver up the House, and likewise that they should carry down your Majesty's Heralds and Trumpets in their Coats, to summon Captain *Wallace*, in the King's Name, to deliver up the House. The Provost of *Edinburgh*, a timorous poor Man, though very honest, obeyed their Orders, and went down so soon as their Affairs could be in Readiness. First marched the Town-company commanded by Captain *Graham*, who a Day before this was turned out of his Employment, but, on his Offer of Service on that Occasion, he was restored; next the discontented Gentlemen; the chief of these were Sir *James Montgomery*, *Houston*, *Greenock*, *Mockrum*, Mr. *William Lockhart*, *Riccarton*, *Drummond*, *William Drummond*, Clerk to the Artillery, *Murray of Livingston*, Lord *Mersington* the fanatick Judge, with a Halbert in his Hand, as drunk as Ale or Brandy could make him; next, the Provost and Magistrates, with a Mob of two or three thousand: When they came within Distance of Shot, the Trumpets and Heralds were sent before to command him to surrender. Captain *Wallace* told them, he was put in by the Council, and would never deliver it up without the King and Council's Command; the Order they produced was but by a Quorum of the Council, so he absolutely refused to obey; at which they began to fire

dragging Shots at one another, which made all the Magistrates and others draw behind Stairs, and down Lanes, and left Major *Graham*, the Train-bands, and his Company, with the Rabble, to dispute the Matter. Captain *Wallace* had certainly been able to have defended the House, if he had kept his Men within the Court, and fired out of the Windows; but he left the House, and posted himself in the outer Court; which, when Captain *Graham* perceived, he marched out at the Town-port with his Company, and came in by the Back-court, and so got behind him; which when Captain *Wallace* heard, he slipped aside, without telling his Officers or Soldiers, and left them to shift for themselves. When they knew that he was gone, they laid down their Arms and begged Quarters. The Gentlemen and Rabble, when they saw all Hazard over, run in upon them, killed some, and made the rest Prisoners, and sent them to Prison, where several of them died for Want, and of their Wounds. Then the Rabble and all rushed into the House, and pulled down all they could find in the private Chapel, and in the Abbey, which was but furnished some Days before; next they fell upon the House where the *Jesuits* lived, and almost broke it down: Then they broke into the Earl of *Perth's* Cellars, and made themselves as drunk with Wine as they were before with Zeal. For two or three Days after they rambled up and down through the Town, searching and plundering what *Roman* Catholick Houses they could find, which were very few, except some Catholick Ladies, whom they

they treated most villainously, nor did the Council any Thing to hinder their Disorders.

For, such of them as abhorred these Barbaries had not Power, and thought themselves happy to escape their Rage; others were so far from discouraging these Abuses, that it was generally known they were the chief Promoters of them. After the Noise of the Rabble was a little abated, the Marquis of *Atbole*, as next Officer of State, called the Council, and had there proposed an Address to be sent up to the Prince of *Orange*, with the highest Acknowledgement of Gratitude for his generous Undertaking of freeing them from Popery and Tyranny, and Offers of future Service; but there were so many that opposed it, that it stopt. These that hindered for a while the Violences of the Marquis of *Atbole*, and his Party, were the two Archbishops, the President of the Session, Sir *George Lockhart*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, the Master of *Balmerino*, Mr. *Charles Hume*, now Earl, and Lord *Lochmore*; but though they got the Address that was first offered, stopt, yet they were outvoted when it was debated, if it was proper to send any at all; and Lord *Glaums* was sent up with an Address very short, and in general Terms, which was very coldly received, a franker one being promised and expected.

The next Thing that gave them some Work, was the apprehending of the Earl of *Perth*, who, finding he could not live in Safety at Home, and being desirous to be with your Majesty, embarked at *Bruntisland* in *Fyfe* for *France*; but, though he had disguised himself, one *Cook*, a Fanatick, knew him as he was going on Ship-board. He rode immediately

ly to *Kirkaldy*, where most of that Profession in that Country dwelt, and, by Accident, met with a great Company of Seamen walking on the Shore ; he told them he would set them on a Way that would make them all rich ; that he had seen the Earl of *Perth* take Shipping at *Bruntisland*, that he had a vast Sum of Money aboard, and that he was confident to apprehend him, would be acceptable to many of the Council. Among these Seamen there was one *Wilson*, who had been a *Buccanier* ; he willingly accepted the Employment, and all the rest submitted to him : But, to get their Affair done without Hazard, they sent to the Magistrates of the Town, and told them of their Resolution, and desired their Allowance, which they very willingly did, and gave them an Order ; the two that signed it were Captain *Crawford* and *James Lundie*, both at that Time in beneficial Employments. The Wind being quite calm, the Seamen got up in a Long-boat to him near the Bass ; my Lord (which was a great Oversight in him) had not aboard but some few Seamen, who immediately rendered ; and, after they had plundered him and his Lady, they brought them back to *Kirkaldy*, threw them into the common Goal, and used them with all Barbarity and Insolence a Rabble was capable of, which the Magistrates rather encouraged than hindred. After they had put them in Prison (as the Magistrates pretended since) to secure them, one of them went over to the Marquis, and told him what their Townsmen had done, which he not only approved of, but gave them an antedated Order for their Warrant ; but this his Lordship denies, and they affirm they have it still ; so, I shall

shall not determine the Truth of it; the Earl of *Marr* and several others told me, when they came afterwards to *London*, that they had seen it. What to do with him made a great Debate in the Council; the Marquis of *Atkole* and all his Party were for sending him to *Stirling* Castle; all that had been against this were for giving him his Liberty, besides the Earl of *Cassils*, who was made one of the Council a little before; but they were out-voted, and the Earl of *Marr* was sent with Orders to *Kirkaldy* to carry him to *Stirling* Castle, which he commanded, on Pretext to secure him from the Rabble, and thus took him out of their Hands, but mended nothing the barbarous Usage: for he was first carried to the Earl of *Marr*'s own House at *Alloa*, where they kept Centries standing within the Room with him, and then made him close Prisoner in *Stirling* Castle, where he remained almost four Years.

The Marquis and most of the Council began to prepare for going up to make their Court; but, that they might do it the better, it was voted in Council, that they should desire the Lords of the Treasury to pay their Expences, which was likeways carried.

The Marquis and Viscount of *Tarbat* were very ready to comply, since they were to have their Share; but the Earl of *Tweedale*, who, (with these two, were all that were in Town of the Treasury) was not then in a Condition to go up himself, absolutely refused: so, for Want of a Quorum, the whole Project was broke, and they were forced to go on their own Charges; after the Viscount of *Tarbat*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, and the President of the Session, were gone, the
Marquis

Marquis of *Athole* took upon him the Government.

While they stayed, there was at least some Decency kept, but they were no sooner gone, than the Marquis, like another *Mazenello*, ordered all at his Pleasure, turned out several from their Employments about the Treasury, Customs, and other Places, and put in Creatures of his own, and, when he had ordered all as he thought fit, he followed the rest of the Council, and left the Earl of *Strathmore*, and some others of the Council of his own Party, to manage in his Absence.

Never was such a Confluence seen on the Road of all Sorts, Degrees and Persuasions, as at that Time going up: For no sooner was it known that your Majesty was gone, and the Prince of *Orange* come to *London*, but all that could scrape so much Money together went up; the Presbyterians and discontented Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, to receive the Fruit of their Labours, and great Promises: The episcopal Party to endeavour to save themselves from the Ruin they saw inevitably coming upon them, by their Enemies getting the absolute Disposal of the Government, both in Church and State; but their Number was nothing to be compared with the others; after they had met with their Friends from *Holland*, every Night after they were once gathered together, they kept their Meetings in *St James's Street* at the Ship-tavern; there they consulted what was next to be done, both to get the Government in their Hands, and how to hinder all others that were not of their Party.

One of the first Things they proposed was, who should be for-ever incapacitated for all publick Employments; five only were named at first, and sent with one Monsieur *Benting* to the Prince of *Orange*, at the Desire of the whole Meeting.

These were the Duke of *Queensberry*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, Viscount of *Dundee*, and myself; but the Prince of *Orange* absolutely refused, being resolved to put no Body in Dispair, till once he knew how they intended to behave for his Interest. His stopping of that made them go no farther on in that Affair, though they intended, as was mentioned next Parliament, that all should be incapacitated who ever had served your Majesty, in any Employment whatsoever; but that took so many of them in, and so many of themselves, and Friends being concerned, it was likewise hindred, not only by the Prince of *Orange*, who desired not to be confined to them, but by most of the leading Men amongst them, who expected the chief Employments, and particularly by the Duke of *Hamilton*, whom I cannot pass by without giving your Majesty some Account of his Behaviour, not only in this Affair, but a little before, and particularly what I was most concerned in myself.

The Day after your Majesty's first going from *London*, I came there, and hearing the unhappy News, I thought it was reasonable to desire the Advice of all the other Counsellors that were there, what I should write to the Council, who had sent me up to receive your Commands, and let your Majesty know the Condition of the Kingdom,
and

and give you new Assurances of their Fidelity, in Terms very different from what was alledged by some.

Before your Majesty went away, as if the Council of *Scotland* had been sending some of their Number to join with those who had petitioned you for the calling of a parliament, after I had got together all the Counsellors, which were the Earl of *Airley*, Lord *Livingston*, Viscount of *Dundee*, Lieutenant-general *Douglas*, and myself, we went to the Duke of *Hamilton's* Lodgings, where I told them upon what Account I was sent, and now that your Majesty was gone, desired their Advice what I should write Home; for all that Time we knew nothing of what Troubles had happened, and gave the Duke a Letter from the Council, wherein they desired he might assist me in receiving your Majesty's Commands, and letting you know the Condition they were in. So soon as he read his own, he desired to see the Letter I had brought to your Majesty, otherways he would not meddle in our Affairs. To satisfy him, I gave him a Double of it, and, though he pressed with all the Passion his natural fiery and insolent Temper could suggest, that I might give him the Principal, I absolutely refused to do it at all at present, (except to Lieutenant-general *Douglas*, who knew his Meaning better than they) and I had no Reason since he was not to deliver it, and that your Majesty was gone. This put him in such a Fury, that he could no more conceal his Design of desiring the Letter, but told, that if he had the Principal, he would give it to the Lords met at *Whitehall*, to shew them what a Letter I had brought up, subscribed by a Chancellor
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and several other Counsellors still sitting there contrary to Law; that he would meddle in nothing wherein they were concerned, or had subscribed; that he was free himself, having never acted since the last Indemnity, but that he would consult with the *English* Lords what was proper next to be done, and so in a Fury left us in his own House: but, three Days after, when he heard of your Majesty's coming back from *Feversham*, and that Things were not like to go as he expected, he sent for the Viscount of *Dundee*, and made great Excuses for his Passion, and desired him to go to us all, and offer his Friendship; and, for that Affair betwixt us in his own Lodgings, intreated we might make no more of it. After your Majesty's coming back from *Feversham*, no Man, for the short Time you stayed, appeared more concerned for your Service; but your Majesty had no sooner taken Water at *Whitehall*, than he had his Coach ready, and went straight to the Session-house to the Prince of *Orange*, and offered his Service, and was received more kindly than any that had done so, not out of Affection, but because he saw him the fittest Tool to manage the different Interests of that Nation. For of the discontented Noblemen and Gentlemen, none appeared more dissatisfied with all that had been done in the former Reign, though no Man had a greater Hand in all that was done that was the least displeasing.

With the Presbyterians he always pretended he had been in their Interest, and what he did that looked like Compliance in the former Government against them, was only to keep them

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from greater Misfortunes. Of the episcopal Party, at least of these that trusted him, which were very few, he begged they might suspend their Judgment of him until a Convention, and then it should be seen who were most for the Interest of the King and Nation.

With these Pretexs, which is no hard Task for Men that will abandon for their Interest all Truth, Honour and Religion; he cajolled a vast Number of all Persuasions, and made himself thought absolutely necessary, which was the only Thing he aimed at, both in the Reign of your Brother and your own; and, to carry on this the better amongst different Parties, in appearance he meddled with none of their Meetings, for that would have declared him too much a Party, until he got all Things ready for their great Meeting held at *Whitehall*, whereof he was chosen President; in which he set forth the great Disorders at Home, that all the Nation was cast loose without any Shadow or Order of Government. Therefore it was absolutely necessary, that the Government should be lodged somewhere until a Convention of Estates should be called.

The great Disorders that had fallen out, and the licentious Liberties the Mob had taken, made many comply with that Proposition, though extremely against their Inclinations; and that which made it pass the easier, was the Time of this Government's being prefixt to so short a Day, as the 16th of *March* 1689. Besides, it could hardly be avoided without Imprisonment, all the Road being stoppt, and Passage absolutely refused, and so would have rendered them incapable of appearing

pearing for your Interest. In the Convention met then, the Earl of *Arran* did read over a short Paper, wherein he told them, he belived there was no other Means to restore Peace and Liberty to *Britain*, but to send to your Majesty, and desire you would return.

There were a great many in that Meeting who would willingly have joined in that Proposition, but his Lordship brought it in without letting any of your Friends know of it: Besides, at that Time the Earl of *Arran* was extremely suspected, both for his going in to the Prince of *Orange* on the very first Noise of your Majesty's going away, and the great Interest his Father had with the Prince of *Orange*, and all the fanatick discontented Party. The most sensible and best of your Friends judged likewise, that tho' his Proposal seemed bold and just, yet it was then ill-timed, considering, if any had joined with him, it would have made the Prince of *Orange* send down immediately Troops to *Scotland*, which would inevitably hinder all Appearance for your Interest in the Convention, which was generally believed to be the only proper Place to appear in, and, at that Time, no wise Man ought to do more, but to get out of the Claws of their Enemies. In this Meeting there was nothing else done, but an Offer of signing the Association, which all refused, who intended to act for your Interest. After that was over both Parties made what Haste they could to get home; but still the Prince of *Orange* denied Passes until he was once declared King, which was thought he did, that all the *Scots* there might kiss his Hand, which would be a Kind of Acknowledgement:

ment : but, notwithstanding that, the Duke of *Hamilton*, and all these who came over from *Holland*, and several others, went and did it ; yet many of the *Scots*, even of those who were as violent as any, refused it ; which was ill taken.

How to behave in that Convention to sit in *March* puzzled not a few ; but for the loyal Party, some thought they could not, in Conscience go to any Meeting called by the Prince of *Orange*, that it was a Breach of their Oath in the Test, to sit in any Meeting not called by legal Authority ; and others judged, that, since your Majesty was not in a Condition to call a Convention, they might very lawfully go, since it was only to serve you that they exposed themselves to a victorious and insulting Enemy : But your Majesty sending over *George Hay*, just at the Time when these Revolutions were forming, made all your Friends resolve to go down, since they knew you allowed them to endeavour to make all the Interest they could, that Members might be rightly chosen.

The Marquis of *Athole* was come up a little before to receive the Reward of his Service, but he was dryly received, and had so many Enemies about the Prince of *Orange*, that he began again to look to his old Friends, and make great Apologies for what was past in *Scotland*, and promised his Assistance in the Convention.

There was so much Need for Help that he was received, and all your Friends joined to send down to *Scotland* to prepare your Friends in the several Counties and Towns for the Election of Commissioners ; but it was too long before it was resolved on, and many of the loyal Gentle-

Gentlemen absolutely refused to meet on such a Call, which gave the Prince of *Orange's* Party and the Fanaticks great Advantage; yet, notwithstanding of all these Disadvantages, if Forces had not been sent down, and all the foresaid Persons admitted without any Repeal, (a Thing never heard of before) your Interest had been asserted in that Convention.

The first that came down of either Party was the Viscount of *Dundee*, and myself. When we came to *Edinburgh* about the End of *February*, we found the City in a great Quiet, and generally well affected.

The College of Justice to free themselves, after the Marquis of *Athole* left his Government, armed themselves, and made up a Battalion of very good Men, which kept all the dissaffected in great Awe; but the Duke of *Hamilton* believing they would be for his Purpose, got an Order sent down with Commissary *Monro* to disband them. On our first coming we waited on the Duke of *Gordon*, who was capitulating to render up the Castle of *Edinburgh*: At our Entry to the Castle, we met all the Duke's Furniture coming out, which give us small Hopes of his keeping it; but we had the good Fortune to convince him, that it would be so much for your Majesty's Interest, and his own Honour, that he promised to keep it out until he saw what the Convention would do. I say not this in the least to disparage any Thing he did; for I saw him have very good Inclinations to do for your Interest; but his never having Orders from you, and his hearing all other Forts and Places given up, discouraged him extremely: He had likewise a great Temptation; for the
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Prince of *Orange* wrote to him a very obliging Letter, with full Assurance of Indemnity and Protection; but, notwithstanding of that, and of several Advices of such as he believed wished him well, and who haunted him constantly, to get him to deliver up the Castle, yet he resolved to hold out. The great Error he committed, though several others were laid to his Charge that were not true) was, after he had resolved it, that he did not get it provided, for then the City of *Edinburgh* would not have denied him any Thing; or, if they had, he could easily have compelled them. Some Days before the Convention sat down, the Duke of *Hamilton*, and other western Lords and Gentlemen, brought publickly into Town several Companies of Foot, and quartered them in the City, besides great Numbers that they kept hid in Cellars, and Houses below the Ground, which never appeared till some Days after the Convention was begun, though they were generally believed to be thrice as many as they were. This was the first Error committed by your Friends; for in Reason they ought all to have left the Convention, and gone and sitten in some other Town by themselves, which they might have done safely; But there were so great Hopes of doing well in that Meeting, that it made many unwilling (notwithstanding of their Hazard) to leave it: Nor can I say there wanted Probability for this Opinion; for, if severals had not left us after all the re-iterated Oaths imaginable, and others admitted into Convention by absolute Force, we would have been by far the major Part; but such Injustice was never heard of as was committed in their

their judging of Elections ; for, if any of their Party had had six Votes, though others had had a hundred, it signified nothing : Besides, the Manner of Elections was contrary to all Rules ever heard of, and a new Way taken, which was proposed by the Lord Stairs, that all Protestants without Distinction should have Votes in the Elections, which put it intirely into the Hands of the Rabble, whom they managed, some by Promises, and others by a little Money : nor even would all these sinistrous Arts and Tricks have compassed their Ends, if your Friends could have had an honest Man to be President, that was not publickly obnoxious to the Fanaticks, which forced (notwithstanding all was past) to pitch on the Marquis of *Athole*, not that they had Confidence either in his Parts or Honesty, but he was the only Man could be set up against Duke *Hamilton* : Both Parties were extremely concerned, looking on the Choice of a President as a decisive Stroke ; for by it they would know whom to reckon on, nor had they small Reason for their Judgment : For, the first Day Duke *Hamilton* was chosen President, even contrary to their own Expectations, about twenty left us that had engaged to us, and voted for us, seeing we were the weakest Party, and that the other would have both Forces, and would shew Authority on their Side. The next Thing they voted, was a Committee of Elections, which they got filled with their own Party, which ended the Affair. For by that they saw themselves so strong, nothing could be heard among them, but put it to the Vote, which they carried always without Debate, and so scandalously, that even Duke *Hamilton*, who (to give him his Due)

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understood Reason and the Law of the Nation at another Rate than any of them, was ashamed to see their scandalous tumultuous Carriage, and several Times did endeavour to hinder it; nor can I say, if his Cause had been good, but he behaved himself, until it came to the chief Affair, with a great deal of Prudence and Moderation, insomuch that some of his own Party began to repent of their Choice. Some few Days were taken up in judging of Elections, which would have taken much longer Time, if severals that saw there was no Manner of Justice so much as pretended to amongst them, had not given it over, and yielded, which made them grow stronger every Day. None concerned in that Affair of Elections behaved so well as Mr. *Charles Hume*: After his Brother, the Earl of *Hume's* Death, the Title fell to him, but, by Reason of the Debts of the Family, he did not take upon him the Title, fearing to lose a considerable Interest that had been left him, with this Provision, that, if the Estate of *Hume* came to him, that the Estate should go to his youngest Brother; so not pretending to be a Peer, he was chosen one of the Commissioners for the Shire; but, when it was brought before the Convention, he was cast as one they suspected would be none of their Friends. So soon as the Sentence was pronounced, he told the President, Since they had taken away one Way of his sitting in that Convention he had Right to, he would try another which they could not refuse him, and so went, and took his Place as Earl of *Hume*, with the Hazard of losing the best Part of his Estate.

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There was likeways another extraordinary Affair of that Kind. One Mr. *Bailie* of *Torwoodhead*, that had pretended some Years before to be Lord *Forrester*, but was summoned before the the Council, for usurping a Title he had no Right to, and discharged under a considerable Penalty, never more to pretend to it: But these at *London*, who had the writing of Letters, not knowing his Title, or, more likely, believed he would be on their Interest, procured him a Letter from the Prince of *Orange* to come to that Convention; so soon as he was challenged by Sir *George Mackenzie*, he produced his Letter, which was voted a sufficient Right to sit; several as unjustly as these were likeways received; I only instance these, to shew how that Convention was constituted, most of the Commissioners having no Right, though the Mob said they had Right, which cannot be pretended. The first Thing they took into their Consideration, after the House was thus constitute, was the getting the Castle of *Edinburgh* into their Hands: That which pressed them most to it, was, there were two pretending to have the Government of it, viz. the Earl of *Lothian* and the Earl of *Leven*; likeways, it being the first of any Consideration in *Britain*, holding out; the Prince of *Orange* being very desirous to have it rendred, the Earl of *Tweeddale* and Earl of *Leven* were sent up to capitulate with the Duke of *Gordon*, who promised them he would comply with their Desire, and give it up next Day at Ten o' Clock. So soon as the Viscount of *Dundee* and I heard them give this Answer to the Convention, we were mightily alarmed, and sent one immedi-

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ately up to remember his Grace of his Engagement to us, and to lay before him the Ruin of your Affairs, if once they got the Castle into their Hands. As Irresolution was the Cause of his Promise to them, so what Arguments were used to him on the other Side, meeting with his Desire to serve you, brought him about again: His greatest Obstacle then was, how to come fairly off; for the Earl of *Tweeddale*, with his flattering insinuating Way, had got him to go too great a Length; for it was advised, that next Day, when they came to demand the Castle, he should tell, he would willingly give it up, but he could not see how he might be safe himself from the Rabble in Town, and these that were brought into it; but to free them from all Fear, of his giving the Convention any Disturbance, he should offer them Baill for twenty thousand Pounds to live peaceably in it. But, though he was very well satisfied with this Advice, yet that Night he grew irresolute, and sent one to tell us, that, except we came immediately to him, he would not keep his Word. This was impossible to do; for they having placed the Town-companies of *Edinburgh* upon the Castle-hill, suffered none they suspected to go up; yet one ventured to him to know what he had to say to us. With him he sent us Word, that, notwithstanding all that was past, he would deliver it up, except we both gave it under our Hands, that it was of absolute Necessity for your Affairs that he should not deliver it up, which we both did that Night, and the next Morning the Viscount of *Dundee* got into the Castle, and confirmed him absolutely in his Resolution of keeping

keeping it out, by telling him the Resolutions that were taken by your Friends, of leaving *Edinburgh* and setting up at *Stirling*. So next Day, when they expected to have had the Castle at the Hour appointed, he refused again, and went on to Hostilities.

Being thus left by many of those we trusted, and despairing of doing any Thing in that Convention, next Day we resolved in our general Meeting that we should leave it, and call a Convention at *Stirling*, as your Majesty had given Power to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Viscount of *Dundee*, and myself, to do, by a Letter you sent us from *Ireland* by one Mr. *Brown*; but we could not determine, if it was of absolute Necessity to be secure of the Earl of *Marr* and Marquis of *Athole*, the one having the Command of *Stirling* Castle, and the other, that he might bring his *Highlanders* to be a Guard to the Town. The Earl of *Marr* had all along appeared one of the firmest in your Interest from the Time he came to *London*; so he gave us all the Assurances imaginable, that he would be according as the major Part thought fit. The Marquis of *Athole* likewise consented to leave *Edinburgh*, and go straight to *Stirling*; but he never continued six Hours in one Resolution, which broke all the Design; for his wavering made our Departure to be put off, still expecting he would be brought about to do it. At last the positive Hour was condescended upon, and severals made themselves ready whom we hardly expected. After it was resolved to be gone, it was thought fit by all your Friends, that one should be sent to you to let you know
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the Reason of our leaving the Convention, and receive your Commands, which the Laird of *Cullen* undertook, before we were to go off. Just as the Convention was sitting down, there came one to the Viscount of *Dundee*, to let him know, that there were six or seven Men in a House, who intended to murder him and Sir *George Mackenzie*, and that, if he would get a Warrant for it, he would instantly carry them to the House where they were. So soon as the Convention met, he told this to Duke *Hamilton*, who proposed it to the Convention, but they absolutely refused to meddle in it, but went to other Affairs. This made the Viscount of *Dundee* to press more to be gone than before, so evident a Piece of Justice being refused him, tho' he offered to prove it at the Bar; nor was there any of your Friends thought themselves longer safe; for all they desired was to have the House alone. It is not to be doubted, but they made several such Things to pass purposely to frighten us; but it was hard trusting to Men that had the Power in their Hands, that they would stop to put in Execution what so many of them had publickly professed, or at least not condemned by the most moderate of the Party, where their Interest and Revenge were concerned. But after all of us were determined to be gone next Morning, and that every Body should make the best of their Way to *Stirling*, the Marquis of *Athole's* Heart failed; so when some went down to him, thinking to get him to go along, he desired we might go to the Place we ordinarily met in, and stay yet another Day, which we all consented to; and, that we might the better cover our Design of going

going away, resolved to go for that Day to the Convention. Just as their Meeting was almost dispersed, and gone to the House, the Viscount of *Dundee* came in, who knew nothing of the Marquis of *Athole's* Delay, nor of the Resolution of your Friends to stay a little longer for him, but expected all was just a-going, he was mightily surprised at their Resolution, and told me, notwithstanding of that, he would go before, and, if any got out of Town, he would wait for them.

It was very evident his going away would give the Alarm, which made me extremely earnest he might stay one Day longer, but he had before made his Appointment with those to go with him, so went straight away with about 50 Horse. As he was riding near the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Duke of *Gordon* made a Sign to speak with him at the west Side of the Castle, where (though it was extremely steep) he told the Duke all that was resolved on, and begged he might keep out the Castle till your Friends might get him relieved, which he positively promised to do. Whilst they were speaking some of these that were sent to blockade the Castle perceived them, and came running to the Convention, and told them, that there was a great Number of Horse gathering together, and that the Viscount of *Dundee* was talking with the Duke of *Gordon*, which they looked on as a horrid Crime after they had outlawed him; their Fears likewise increased, believing it was a general Design against them; and that which augmented their Fright the more, was several Messengers bringing Word, one after another, that they
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were still increafing. At laft Duke *Hamilton* in a mighty Fury, told the Convention, that now it was Time to look to their own Safety, fince the Papifts and Enemies to the fettling of the Government were fo bold as to gather together; that he doubted not but there were feveral there amongst them that were on the De-
 fign; therefore it was his Opinion, that the Doors fhould be immediately bolted, and the Keys laid upon the Table, that fome of their Number fhould be fent out to caufe beat Drums, to gather together all thefe well-affected to Religi-
 on and Liberty; that he had brought fome Foot from the *weft* Country, fearing the Designs of their Enemies, which offered to defend them: What he faid was approved of by all their Party; feveral others of them bragged likeways of the Numbers they had brought, and called them thrice as many as they were. The Earl of *Le-*
ven was pitched upon to go out and gather them together; which when he had done, there were never fo miferable a Parcel feen; nor is it to be doubted, if your Friends had known their own Strength, and not believed your Enemies to be far ftronger than they really were, they might with all the Eafe imaginable, that Day have afferted and vindicated your Right, and defeated your Enemies.

Such of your Friends as were locked within the Houfe, and guarded likeways without, looked on themfelves as undone; and the Thing that faved them was, that they could come to no Refolution amongst themfelves; but I cannot fay much of their Intentions, having it from fome that changed Parties fo often, that I can
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assert nothing on their Credit. The Fear being a little over, and that they saw they had the most of your Friends in their Power, and that there was no Tumult in Town, nor that the Viscount of *Dundee* grew any stronger, but was only marching away, so they ordered one Major *Buntein* to gather all he could together, and follow him, which he did, but never came within the Sight of him.

After they had secured the Town, and thought themselves out of Hazard, Duke *Hamilton* dismissed the Convention, to the great Satisfaction of all your Friends, little expecting they would come off so easy, and all this Noise ended in nothing; but with that also ended all Hopes of setting up another Convention at *Stirling*: For the Marquis of *Athole* gave it quite over; Earl of *Marr* made a Faint to get out of the Town, but went by the only Post that was guarded, and was stopt there, and was brought back, and gave his Parole not to stir out of *Edinburgh*, without Leave of the Convention. These two giving it over, every Body that were apprehensive shifted for themselves, and lurked in *Edinburgh*; next Day there was a mighty Change, for severals, either out of Fear or Interest, left us; those of Note were the Earl of *Marr* and *Annandale*, who changed thoroughly, and went along with every Thing that could be proposed; severals likeways, both of the Barons and Burgeses, did the like; so that, by such of your Friends as left the House, which did likeways some of the Bishops, they got their Meeting almost unanimous.

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The Night after, they searched the Town for Officers they suspected, yet found none, but one that had a Mind to be taken; Lieutenant-general *Douglas*, when he went to *England* with the Army, certainly knew nothing of any Design amongst them, but, he had not conversed long with the Lord *Churchill*, *Kirk*, and some others, but he grew one of the fireyest of the Party, insomuch that he proposed to my Lord to betray and carry him in his Regiment, as I was informed by the Viscount a while after. Before he made the Proposition, he told him, he had an Affair of great Consequence to them both to tell them, if he gave his Oath never to reveal it, which, when he had done, though he abhorred the Motion, yet he thought himself obliged in Honour to conceal. So soon as he cleared himself to Duke *Hamilton* of any Design he had against them, he was dismissed. This he could easily do; for none in all the Revolution acted a blacker Part; for he not only sent in the Battalion of the *Scots* Guards, but was on all the Designs of betraying, and, above all, laid down his Employment to get the greater Credit with your Friends, and, at the same Time, was engaged to the Prince of *Orange*, to let him know what passed and was designed by his Enemies.

Being now free of most of these that obstructed them, some quitted the House, and others joined with them, they fell heartily to Work with the Affair for which they met; but, fearing lest the Prince of *Orange* thought they went slowly on, they sent up the Lord *Ross* with a Letter, containing the Reasons of their Delay,

Delay, which were, that now, they were free from those that had opposed the settling of the Nation, they doubted not but to come shortly to a Conclusion to his Satisfaction. Next they choose a Committee for settling the Government, and another for considering the present State of the Nation. What was done or undone in either I cannot give a full Account of, having first left the House, so can say little but from other Hands; and both Parties being so incensed the one against the other, at that Time, a considerable Allowance must be made to both their Reports, if one desire to know the Truth impartially. But still there remained some of your Friends that gave them some Trouble, particularly Sir *George Mackenzie*, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and Mr. *Ogilvie*, who behaved themselves extremely well, when the chief Affair came in of settling the Government: But Reason signified little to Men that were resolved to go through with what they had begun; nor could it have signified much upon another Account. For among them all (generally speaking) there was never such a Set of Men gathered together; for they had few, except Sir *John Dalrymple*, and Sir *James Montgomery*, that could make the least Reply, but only, Put it to a Vote, which they were sure to carry among themselves. Likeways there were some Divisions; some would have the Crown declared immediately vacant, as was done in *England*, and the Prince of *Orange* proclaimed; others who were cautious, and would willingly have seen a little better about them before they made so bold a Step, proposed an Union with *England*, and took all the Pains imaginable

to engage your Friends into it, and to bring them back to the House, alledging there would be nothing so much for your Interest as the gaining of Time; and that if this Proposal did not go on, the Government would be settled: but, if it was once set a-foot, and your Friends assist, several Months would be spent before any such Treaty could be ended. The chief of these who managed this Affair were the Viscount of *Tarbat* and the Lord *Stair*; your Friends soon perceived, that they only designed to do this as effectually as possible for the Prince of *Orange* by an Union; for all that were for this must have consented to the Prince of *Orange's* being King, and to all that was done in *England*. Thus to free themselves of the Odium of such a Deed if your Majesty's Business succeeded, and ended, they were then much concerned; for your Affairs in *Ireland* were vastly magnified both by your Friends and your Enemies. This Prospect took extremely with these that had a-mind to to carry it fair with both Parties, or were not in Hopes of Employments; but there were two several Interests in the House against it: The one Party was Duke *Hamilton*, and all that had Influence upon the Prince of *Orange*, who expected the great Employments for himself and Children, as the Reward of his Service; the other was the bigotted Fanaticks, who feared that such an Union, where the Church of *England* were the strongest Party, might be of ill Consequence to their Kirk, which they designed not only to establish upon the old Footing, but according as they did before; endeavour the Reformation of their Brethren in *England*.

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These two Parties were by far stronger than the Trimmers, especially since your Friends would not meddle; so that they never ventured to propose it publickly. A few Days after being certain that the Viscount of *Dundee* had gone by *Stirling* to his own House, they sent a Herald and a Trumpet to command him and my Lord *Livingston* to return, under the Pain of being denounced Rebels to the State. My Lord *Livingston* obeyed, and was immediately dismissed, being then no Member of the House, and having nothing to lay to his Charge: The Viscount of *Dundee* wrote a Letter, excusing his not obeying their Orders, wherein he gave his Reasons for which he left the Convention, which were, that he could stay no longer in that Place, after he had told them in full Convention of so many of his Enemies, who designed to murder him, yet could have no Justice. He told likewise, he could not find that Convention any more free, when there were so many brought in from the *western* Counties to overthrow its Members, nor where they were guarded with foreign Troops: For just at this Time *Mackay* was come down from *England* with four *Dutch* Regiments; but if they would do him Justice, and give him Assurance of Liberty, he promised to return immediately.

I have given this Account the more full, because it was insinuated after my Lord *Dundee* went to the *Highlands*, that severals of your Friends broke their Engagenents to him, and did not go along, but were so far from being in any such Engagements, that they would have disobeyed you if they had gone; for your positive
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Commands were sent with *George Hay*, that if we saw there could be nothing done in the Convention, that we should quit it, and we should keep as quiet as we could till farther Orders, and untill you could send us Assistance from *Ireland*; but the Design of going to *Stirling* made the one go for the other, so that was ruined by the faint Heartedness of the Marquis of *Arbuthnot*, and some others. All that knew your Commands endeavoured to retire home, and save themselves; nor did ever the Viscount of *Dundee* resolve to meddle until he had your Orders, except he had been obliged to save himself from a Party that came to apprehend him. Notwithstanding the Difficulties your Friends had met with, some of them did not give over Hopes of breaking the Designs of the Convention, and get another to meet in some safe Place. That which gave Rise to this, was the coming down of the Duke of *Queensberry*: The Duke from the first Noise of the Invasion, had appeared sincerely in your Interest, and I must do him Justice to say, I never saw any Man more concerned than he was for the Steps his Son had made in *England*, after your Majesty was gone; he joined in all the Meetings we had for your Service, and employed what Interest he could to get Commissioners for the Shires he was concerned in chusing, as we wished; nor could any Thing be complained of him, but his too long Stay at *London*; for if all your Friends had appeared as they promised the first Day of the Convention, they had by far been the strongest; and if *Scotland* then had declared for you, when you was almost Master of *Ireland*, the Prince of *Orange* had

had been in a bad Condition in *England*, considering he had *France* to deal with on the other Side. This made us extremely concerned, (since that we could do no more in the Convention) either to get another to counter-act them, or get them forced from *Edinburgh*, which would have made a great Delay before the Time they could get another Convention established, and which they intended to set up at *Glasgow*, if they had been forced from *Edinburgh*. The only Way could be thought of by all your Friends to get this done, was to engage the Duke of *Gordon* to fire upon the Town, which certainly would have broke the Convention, for they always suspected some Design of forcing them from *Edinburgh*. In this Resolution no Man seemed so forward as the Marquis of *Athole*; for it was of great Concern to have him so; for after the Earl of *Marr* had intirely quit us, and by that had got *Stirling* in their Hands: There was no Man in the Nation (considering how well-affected his *Highlanders* were) could be so useful, if your Friends had retired northwards, as was intended, till they received your Orders from *Ireland*; and that which made us depend on him, (for all the Escapes he had made) was the great Influence the Earl of *Dummore* had with him, who applied all his Endeavours to keep him to his Duty, and acted in all your Concerns with as much Zeal and Affection (till he was made Prisoner) as any ever served you.

The Countess of *Erroll*, who had kept Intelligence with the Duke of *Gordon* from the Time the Castle was blocked up, undertook to let him know our Advice, which she accordingly did;

did; but he absolutely refused to do any Thing but defend himself until he had your Majesty's Orders; so our whole Designs were broke. For since there was no Way found to make them leave *Edinburgh*, all of us seeing there was no more to be expected, either from the Convention, or from those that pretended to be our Friends, left the Town, and retired Home; such as the Viscount of *Stormouth*, Earl of *Hume*, Viscount of *Oxford*, Lord *Sinclair*, Earl of *Southesk*, Earl of *Pannuir*, Mr. *Harry Maull* his Brother, the Sheriff of *Bute*, and some others.

A few Days after, the Committee prepared all that was intended in the Convention, but found great Difficulty how to declare the Crown vacant; some were for Abdication, as was done in *England*; but that could not pass amongst the most violent of them; for it could not be imagined your Majesty had left *Scotland*; others were for making Use of an old obsolete Word, *forlieting*, for a Bird's forsaking her Nest; but Sir *John Dalrymple* ended the Debate, by such Reasons against both, that they agreed to his new Proposal, which was, that your Majesty by committing such Acts as he named, forfeited your Right to the Crown, making this childish Distinction, that they intended not to forfeit you as a Traitor, but only declared you had forfeited, which would make the Affair clear, and take off any Pretensions the Prince of *Wales* might afterwards have.

This immediately took, and was voted next Day by all present, except five, viz. the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, Lord *Boyne*, Mr. *Ogilvie*, and one *Barrough*, all the rest

rest who did not intend to go along had left the House. After the Crown was declared vacant, Duke *Hamilton* immediately proposed filling it again, and although as President he was not obliged to vote, yet to shew (as he said himself) good Example, he gave his Vote first, to declare the Crown vacant, and next that an humble Offer thereof should be made to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

This was more unanimously agreed to than the other: For the Duke of *Queensberry* and the Marquis of *Athole*, who had dissented from the first Vote, came and assented to the second, and told the House, that they were not fully convinced of their Right of declaring the Crown vacant, but, since they had done it, they acquiesced, and none deserved so well to fill it as the Prince of *Orange*, and afterward went with the rest to the publick Cross of *Edinburgh*, where they were declared King and Queen, when the Duke of *Hamilton*, to shew his Zeal, did there the meanest Action that ever could be heard of in a Duke; for he officiated as Clerk, and read from the Cross to the People the Act of Convention. Next they voted Lord *Lorn*, Sir *John Dalrymple*, and Sir *James Montgomery*, to carry up their Offer, with their Grievances and Claim of Right, which were the Conditions pretended, as giving him the Crown: and that they might be in the greater Safety during the Adjournment, which they were to make, until they knew that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had accepted of their Present, they voted a full Power to the Duke of *Hamilton* to imprison whomsoever he suspected, until the Return should

should come back, fearing, if such a Power was lodged in many, Informations might be given.

The first that found the Effects of this Power, was the Viscount of *Dundee*, and myself, occasioned by your Majesty's sending over one Mr. *Braddy* with Letters from *Ireland*, wherein you gave us the same Orders that before you had done with Mr. *Hay*, which was to do nothing until your farther Orders, and that 5000 Foot and 300 Horse, which you had ready to send, were landed: These Letters were taken by the Folly of Mr. *Braddy*, for he had told all his Business to one *Thomson*, who had came over out of *Ireland* on Purpose to betray him, and even, after he had discovered him to Duke *Hamilton*, and and that he was seized on and searched, they could find nothing about him, all his Letters being lodged in a false Bottom of his Walleese; nor had they any Suspicion, until he eased their Minds by telling them all he knew, from whom and to whom he came, which they had never known but by him, the Letters having no Directions. Duke *Hamilton*, by Virtue of the Power given him, immediately ordered the Earl of *Leven* to send over 100 Foot to my Lord *Dundee*, and as many to me, but, his House being 20 Miles farther off than mine, besides having the River *Tay* betwixt him and them, and having a good Party of his own Regiment constantly with him, they found it not so practicable to apprehend him, but I was taken and brought to *Edinburgh*, and put in the common Goal. I had the Liberty of it at first for some Days that the Convention did not sit; But how soon

soon they had met, and read the Letters, never were Men in greater Rage, than in general the whole House was against me. Upon reading one from the Earl of *Melfort* to me, wherein, after he had given us Assurances of speedy Relief, he expressed himself much after this Manner. That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then Things had never come to the Pass they were at; but, when we get the Power again, such should be Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water. This Duke *Hamilton* took as meant of himself, but what the Earl of *Melfort's* Intention was in these Expressions I cannot determine; but, to justify him and myself, I do declare, that never in his Life he made the least Insinuation to me of any such Proposition, but whatever he intended by them, nothing could have been more to the Prejudice of your Affairs, nor for my Ruin, than this, which [did shew that nothing but Cruelty would be used, if ever your Majesty returned.

These Letters were printed both in *England* and *Scotland*, and were like to have their designed Effect. For, when they were read in the Convention, though I had many Relations there, yet few appeared my Friends, except the Duke of *Queensberry*, which was the more generous in him; and until your Majesty's Departure, I saw his Inclinations sincerely to serve you; for we had been in very ill Terms. He told the House, he doubted not but the Earl of *Melfort* had wrote these Letters purposely to ruin me, and if Letters coming to me could be made criminal, it was in the Power of every Man's Enemies to expose him when he pleased. That

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which inclined the Duke of *Queensberry* to believe this the more, was, that he knew of my concurring with many of your faithful Servants, (notwithstanding of my Friendship and Relation with the Earl of *Melfort*) to desire your Majesty, by Mr. *Lindsay*, Captain *Carleton*, and *Cullen*, who were sent to you to intreat that the Earl of *Melfort* should not come along with you; for, at that Time, never Man of any Nation was so abhorred; insomuch that whatever came from your Majesty, if he was thought to be the least concerned in it, there needed no more to give all the Isle of *Britain* a Prejudice against it. This, I confess, made many of us desire of your Majesty, that he might not come along with you; that there were some did this out of perfect Picque, I cannot deny, but these were but a few to the vast Number that acted otherways sincerely for your Majesty's Interest, finding how obnoxious he was to all Parties, nor had he greater Enemies in the Nation; for the Generality were Roman Catholicks. Though what the Duke of *Queensberry* said did shew his Inclinations, yet it signified nothing to allay Heat; for Duke *Hamilton* told him, he had as little Reason as any to be satisfied with me; for he doubted not but he himself was likewise meant, and generally all of them thought they were comprehended amongst the Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water; so I was voted to be imprisoned, and was kept close Prisoner 14 Weeks, till after the Castle of *Edinburgh* was surrendered, at which Time I was put in there: Nor did they limit their Rage and Malice against me only, for all they thought was concerned in it must likewise feel

feel it; and to make the greater Noise, they apprehended several Gentlemen whom they thought my Friends, and likeways put them in the common Goal; and it was proposed by the Earl of *Crawford*, that the Lord *Lochore*, who was one of these taken with me, should be made close Prisoner. He said he was sure, (considering the Friendship I had for him) he knew all that was designed, or had been acted in the late evil Government; but this even Duke *Hamilton* did not incline to, but the other urging, it was brought to the Vote, and carried in the Negative only by three.

The first Thing the new Committee did, was to order that *Mackay* should send some Troops of Dragoons about by *Stirling*, to apprehend my Lord *Dundee*, who kept still at his House at *Disdope*, and at another he had at the Glen of *Ogilvie*; but, when he knew of their coming against him, he was obliged to retire, not being near their Number, neither knowing that these Dragoons were so well inclined to your Service, as their behaviour shewed thereafter; but at this Time they were not come to understand one another, and so knew not their Intention. A few Days afterwards, *Mackay* came himself into the Country, with 800 Foot, the *Colchester* Regiment of Horse, and four Troops of Dragoons, which forced *Dundee* to retire yet farther northward into Duke *Gordon's* Country, where the Earl of *Dumfermling* met him with sixty Horse: but *Mackay* being so strong, and still pursuing after him, that he might not be idle, since that he durst not meddle with *Mackay*, he turned from and, by long Marches through the *Highlands*,
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he came down to *Perth*, where the Laird of *Elair* was lying with one of the new-raised Troops, and, before they had any Notice, makes him and some other Officers Prisoners, seized all their Horses, and then marched to *Angus*, thinking to surprize the Lord *Rollo*, who was raising another Troop; they not being able to march with what Expedition was requisite, his Horses being extremely fatigued by the long Marches he had made, and Scarcity of Forrage, for at that Time there was no Grass in the Fields, Lord *Rollo* had Account of *Elair's* Misfortune, and so had Time to escape; then he marched to the *Highlands*, that he might meet with the Clans in *Lochaber*, where they all met him, or sent Assurances of their Readiness to join him for your Majesty's Service, except the Laird of *Mackintosh*.

Some Days after, the Viscount of *Dundee* took two Expresses going from *Mackay* to Colonel *Ramsay*, with Orders to come up through *Athole*, and join him. Thus seeing he was like to be invironed, chused rather to attack one of them before they joined together, and, having gathered about 2000 Foot, with the few Horse he had, marched straight against Colonel *Ramsay*, who commanded a Party of 1200 Foot of the chief of all their Army; but so soon as he had Notice of *Dundee's* coming against him, immediately retired with that Haste and Disorder, that he blew up all his Ammunition, and marched Night and Day till he was out of that Country. *Dundee* not being able to overtake him, came and stayed some Days at *Badenoch*, where he got the Alarm, that *Mackay* was

was coming to attack him: That he might the better know the Enemy's Strength and Motions, he went with a small Party to view them, leaving the Command of the Horse to the Earl of *Dunfermling*, and the Foot to *Lochell*, who hearing the Enemy were strong in Horse, which is the only Thing terrifies the *Highlanders*, he drew off from the Ground *Dundee* left him on, to a stronger; but when he came to draw up his Men to attack *Mackay*, thinking to find them where he left them, they were so far from it, that the Day was spent before they could come in Sight of *Mackay*, and, before next Morning, he was decamped, otherways it is like *Dundee* would have given a good Account of him. Thereafter, to draw *Mackay* to an Engagement, he marched to the Castle of *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*, into which *Mackay* had lately put a Garrison, and summoned the Governor to surrender the Place; this was on the 29th of *May*; at first he refused, but, when he saw all Things ready to attack him, he desired to capitulate, and after some Formalities, surrendered the Place, which *Dundee* immediately ordered to be burnt. Afterwards he marched on to find out *Mackay*, and was not a little encouraged to it by a Message he got from the Regiment of *Scots* Dragoons, which had been commanded by the Earl of *Dunmore*, by which they assured him of their Readiness to obey his Orders; before they left *England*, the Soldiers of his Regiment intended to have all left him, or done as his own Regiment of Horse did; but, being assured by some of their Officers, and particularly by Captain *Murray*, in whom they had great Confidence, that the Officers only intended to keep together for

for your Service, and that they were resolved never to serve the Prince of *Orange*.

They were persuaded and came down to *Scotland*, and embraced the first Opportunity of shewing their Intentions, but the Matter was unfortunately discovered by Captain *Forbes*, who had been Commander of the Castle of *Ruthven*, and, in the Way, had seen one *Provensal*, (who was sent from the Officers) coming back from my Lord *Dundee*; this he informed *Mackay* of, as well as of *Dundee's* March, which occasioned him presently to decamp; so that next Morning, when he thought to have found *Dundee* where *Provensal* had informed him where he lay, he got Notice that he had marched all the Night, and was got the length of *Balvennie*: My Lord *Dundee*, to get between him and the *Low-Country*, marched up *Glenlivet*, and turned down *Strathdon*; but *Mackay* getting an Account of his March from *Gordon of Edinglassie*, retired with all the Haste he could, *Dundee* pursuing so fast, that, about Four o' Clock in the Afternoon, he came in Sight of *Mackay*, but the Country being so full of Hills and other Difficulties, it was almost Eleven at Night before he got up with him; and, in the dark Night, lost Sight of him, and having marched all Night, was got 12 Miles off before next Morning. *Dundee* finding his Horse extremely fatigued, and Men wearied, went in to *Edinglassie's* Parks to refresh them, where he did not lye above two Days until he had Intelligence from Prisoners taken, and likewise from the Officers of the *Scots* Dragoons, that *Mackay* was on his March backward to him, being strengthened by Colonel *Ramsay's* Dragoons,

goons, and an *English* Regiment of Foot; and, being stronger in Horse, my Lord *Dundee* was obliged to retire, keeping always a strong Rear-guard, as well for hindering his Men from rambling, as from any Apprehensions he had of *Mackay*, who made but very small Marches; notwithstanding all his Care and strict Commands, it was impossible to keep the *Highlanders* from plundering, so that 18 or 20 of them were taken, and immediately hanged by *Gordon* of *Edinglassie* on the first Tree he found.

Thus marching towards *Badenoch*, on the Side of the River *Spey*, they met 200 of Sir *John Maclean's* Men coming to join him, who that Night were like to be cut off by 300 *English* Dragoons, who were close on them before they knew they were Enemies; and as soon as they perceived them, they threw away their Plaids, (as their Custom is) and run to a Hill, where they drew up: He who commanded the Dragoons, finding they could not ride up the Hill, ordered them to light, and go up the Hill, which the *Highlanders* no sooner perceived, than with Sword in Hand fell down upon them, killed fourteen and one Captain, and put the rest to Flight, and then came and joined *Dundee*, who was marching to *Lochaber*. On the Way he met Sir *Alexander Maclean*, who had brought out of *Argyleshire* 200 Men, most of them belonging to *Largie Macdonald*, and *Galasby*: Before he came to *Lochaber*, he dismissed the most Part of his *Highlanders*, (that Country not being able to maintain them) except those that were come with Sir *Alexander Maclean*, they being far from their own Country, and such as he kept
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by him of Horse and Foot he punctually paid out of his own Pocket, and kept so good Order, that the Country was extremely well satisfied, and friendly to him all the Time he stayed there, which was about two Months. *Mackay* finding he could do nothing against him in *Lochaber*, went back, and dismissed his Troops, to refresh them in a Summer-quarter. Thus each of them pursued, and fled according to their present Condition, and the Enemy's Strength, by Turns.

During the Adjournment of the Convention, all appeared very quiet, though at that Time Humours and Discontents began to arise amongst themselves; on account of the Prince of *Orange*, not being able to satisfy the Pretensions and Avarice of all these that came over with him, who looked upon it as their Right to have all the Favours and Employments he could bestow; those also that had appeared early for his Interest, and had been the chief Instruments of raising the Rabble in *Edinburgh*, and had shewn their Zeal for him in the Convention, thought they had better Pretensions than those who came over with him, they having only acted what they had done out of Necessity, being, for the most Part, forfeited Persons.

The Prince of *Orange*, till he got his Business done, managed both Parties so, that each believed he had all to expect; but, after the Convention, they quickly found their Mistake; for not only his own Inclinations were for these that came over with him, but bent intirely for them, and got the Lord *Melvil*, a Creature of his own, made sole Secretary of State for *Scotland*,

land, and the Council named as he had a-mind, at least of such as he knew, if they would do him no good, they could signify as little against him, by which his Power would be the greater. In it were named some, more for Shew of their Families, than any Kindness for their Persons, or Esteem for their Parts, such as, the Marquis of *Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, Earl *Marshal*, Earl of *Errol*, Earl of *Eglinton*, who, though they were not Fanaticks, yet were sure not to contradict any Thing that was to be done; yet this dissatisfied extremely the Presbyterians, who now thought they should have been admitted; but such as had given Proof of their Conversion, and severals that had Pretensions were so enraged, particularly Sir *James Montgomery*, who thought nothing less due to his Merit than to be Secretary; Duke *Hamilton* was little better satisfied to see that all the Employments were neither at his Disposol, nor given to his Children or Friends; for whom he had made so many fruitless Attempts, both in your Brother's Reign and your own. But tho' the Discontents and Jealousies were generally known, yet they did not publicly declare against one another, till after the first Session of their Parliament, which was in *June 1689*, where Duke *Hamilton* was Commissioner, and the Earl of *Crawford* President. In it they confirmed all that the Convention done, declared Episcopacy a Grievance, made a new Oath of Allegiance, and ordained all the episcopal Clergy to pray for the Prince of *Orange* as King, and the Princess as Queen, under the Pain of losing their Benefices.

A Bill was brought in, and presented by the Earl of *Morton*, for incapacitating all those who had Employments in the late civil Government, from ever having any again ; but this comprehended so many of themselves, that it was thought fit to lay it aside ; nor was there much Notice taken of it by any Party, all knowing it could not be his own Deed, but put upon him by some that thought so poor a Creature a good Instrument, being a Man of Quality, to try how it would take.

They were thus busy in their Parliament about the Middle of *July*, when the Lord *Murray*, Son to the Marquis of *Athole*, went up to the *Highlands*, where his Father's Interest lay, and raised about 1200 Men, pretending only to look after the Peace of the Country ; but *Balechan*, a Gentleman of the Name of *Stewart*, found out his Intentions, and gave Notice of it to the Viscount of *Dundee*. This Gentleman, though he had always been a Dependant on the Marquis of *Athole*, yet preferred his Duty to your Majesty to any Obligation he had to that Family ; and, by the Viscount of *Dundee*'s Order, he put himself in the Castle of *Blair*, and when my Lord *Murray* required him to deliver it up, he made Answer, That he kept it by the General's Orders for the King's Service ; but, not finding himself in a Condition to reduce the Place, he sent to *Mackay*, to let him know his House was kept out against him, and desired his Assistance ; which made *Mackay* draw together as quickly as he could possibly, about 4000 Foot and two Troops of Horse, and marched straight foreward to *Athole*. *Dundee* saw well the Consequence

sequence of losing that Place; for, if once reduced, all other Intelligence, with any Part in the Highlands, would be cut off, and that Country, whom he confided most in of all the *Highlands*, rendered incapable to assist: Therefore, to prevent it, he ordered a Rendezvous of all the Clans, and got together near 2000 Foot, and the few Horse he had kept together; and having already wrote several Times to my Lord *Murray* without any Return, he sent Major *William Graham* and Captain *Ramsay*, to lay before him the Honour and Advantage he might procure to himself and Family, if he would heartily join with him for your Majesty's Service, and how easy it would be for him to reduce all your Enemies in *Scotland*; for, if they got but the least Advantage of your Enemies, and succeeded, all the World should know your Majesty owed such Service to him only; but if he refused this favourable Opportunity, the Miscarriage would be laid at his Door: But he was alike moved by both these Arguments, and would not so much as see these Gentlemen, nor give them any Answer.

These Men he had raised were of another Humour, and began to suspect, by his refusing to see these two Gentlemen, that his Designs were not for your Majesty's Service: so all, with one Voice, desired to know his Resolutions; and if that he would join with the Viscount of *Dundee*, they would all follow him; but, if otherways, they would quit him.

The great Subjection which the Heads of the Clans had over their Vassals, made him believe he could reduce them with Threatnings: but they

they continued firm to their Resolutions, and perceiving plainly his Intentions, they filled their Bonnets with Water, and drank your Health, and so left him. He went straight and met *Mackay*, and gave him an Account of the Condition of that Country, and what had befallen him. Just as the Viscount of *Dundee* was going down to *Athole*, Major-general *Cannon* came from *Ireland* with 300 new-raised Men. * Their Arrival would have been very seasonable, if two Accidents had not happened, which did *Dundee*, by their coming, more Harm than Good. *First*, he had been daily promised by the Earl of *Melfort*, that a considerable Body, both of Horse and Foot, should be sent, with Ammunition and all other Necessaries, which they were in great Want of, by which many of the best Gentlemen, who had followed him for several Weeks, had neither seen Bread, Salt nor Drink, except Water. Instead of this the Clans saw all their Expectations reduced to 300 Men, who were in as great Want as themselves, which discouraged them extremely. *Next*, the Loss of some Provision, as Bread, Beer, and Cheese, &c. which was coming to them, Colonel *Cannon* having made the Ships in which it was ly too long at *Mull*, so that the *English* Frigots came and took them; but, notwithstanding of these Discouragements, my Lord *Dundee* resolved to succour the Castle of *Blair*.

So about the End of *July* he marched to *Athole*. When he came to the Castle he called a Council of War, having had Intelligence that *Mackay* was entering by a narrow Pass into that Country, called *Killicrankie*: many of these Clans,

Clans, and other Officers, were for maintaining that Pass, that *Mackay* should not enter that Way, because they thought themselves not yet strong enough to encounter him; and that their great Rendezvous was only to be two Days after, when they would be much stronger: But *Dundee* soon convinced them, that in all Appearance, he could never have such a fair Opportunity, *Mackay* having then only two Troops of Horse with him; but, if he delayed, he would quickly bring up the *English* Dragoons, which is the only Thing the *Highlanders* are afraid of; this determined them: So it was resolved to let *Mackay* enter the Pass, and fight him at the Disadvantage of Double their Number, rather than stay till his Cavalry joined with him. *Mackay* having ordered his Battle all in one Line, without any Reserve, and having drawn up his Field Battalions only three Men deep, which made a very long Front, my Lord *Dundee* perceiving it, was obliged to change his Order of Battle, and to enlarge his Interval, that he might not be so much outwinged. This consumed a great Part of the Afternoon; but, having put all Things in as good Order as he could, he marched down to attack the Enemy. The *Highlanders* endured the Fire with a great deal of Courage, without firing till they were close upon them; then they delivered their Fire, and presently after, with Sword and Targe, they broke in amongst them; and they not being used with this Way of fighting, fell into such a Consternation, that they defended themselves but faintly. My Lord *Dundee* charged upon the Head of the few Horses he had. The *English* Horse run at first, without firing

firing hardly a Shot; so he ordered his Horse to follow him to attack their Cannon, and (Sir *William Wallace*, who had produced his Commission only that Morning to be a Colonel of a Regiment of Horse) got the Command, to the great Dissatisfaction of the Earl of *Dunfermling*, and many other Gentlemen, who thought themselves injured, yet had that Respect for your Majesty's Service, as to make no Dispute for it at so critical a Time; he marched at so slow a Pace after my Lord *Dundee*, that, when he was come near the Cannon, he found himself alone, which made him call for them to advance more quickly; but Sir *William* not being too forward, the Earl of *Dunfermling*, who was only riding Volunteer, rode out of the Ranks, and followed with about 16 Gentlemen, beat the Enemies from their Cannon, and took them before the rest of the Horse came up. When *Dundee* saw the Cannon taken, the Enemies Horse fled, and his Horse broke in through *Mackay's* own Regiment, he rode up to bring down Sir *Donald Macdonald's* Regiment, who had not shewn so great Resolution as the rest of the *Highlanders*, and unhappily by the Way received a Shot in his right Side, immediately below his Armour; he strove to ride off a little, but was not able, and fell from off his Horse: Though the *Highlanders* had charged with an admirable Courage, making the Enemy run wherever they came, yet they were so overcome by the Spoil, that, so soon as they came among the Enemies Baggage, they stopt there, and by that lost the Fruit of the Victory; for, by this Means, *Mackay* and several others escaped, which was impossible for them

them to have done, if they had been quickly pursued: Besides, there were two Regiments, viz. Colonel *Hastings* and Lord *Leven's*, who had been but little engaged; if these had had Resolution, they might easily have fallen upon the *Highlanders* while they were intent about the Spoil, and so quite changed the Fate of the Day; but both neglected their Opportunity: These two Regiments were in such a Consternation, that they knew not what to do, but took the Benefit of the Darkness of the Night to march off, and make their Escape, though many of them fell by the Way, being attacked by some of the *Athole* Men, as they were repassing *Killicrankie*. *Mackay* fled towards *Stirling*, and arrived there next Day with not above 200 of his Men; he lost above 2000 on the Spot, and above 500 were made Prisoners. Never was there a more intire Victory gained, yet your Affairs, I must say, suffered Prejudice by it, considering the great Loss of the Viscount of *Dundee*. He was the Man most proper for any such Undertaking in the Nation; for he understood very well the different Tempers of these he had to deal with; he knew well when and to whom it was fit to shew Kindness, and also when to use Roughness, without Severity; and though he was naturally more sparing of his Money than profuse, yet wherever your Majesty's Service or Ambition prompted, he stuck at nothing, but distributed frankly whatever he could command; which gained him intirely the Hearts of those who followed him, and brought him into such a Reputation, that had he survived that Day, in all Probability, he would have given such a Turn

to your Affairs, that the Prince of *Orange* could neither have gone nor sent into *Ireland*, by which your Majesty would have been intire Master of that Kingdom, and in a Condition to have landed what Forces you pleased in *Scotland*, which was the only Thing your Friends most desired.

Next Day after the Fight, an Officer riding by the Place where my Lord *Dundee* fell, found lying there a Bundle of Papers and Commissions, which he had about him; those who stript him, thought them but of little Concern, that they left them lying there. This Officer a little after did shew them to several of your Friends, among which there was one Paper did no small Prejudice to your Affairs, and would have done much more, had it not been carefully suppressed. It was a Letter of the Earl of *Melfort's* to my Lord *Dundee*, when he sent him over your Majesty's Declaration, in which was contained not only an Indemnity, but a Toleration for all Persuasions. This the Earl of *Melfort* believed would be checking to my Lord *Dundee*, considering his great Hatred to Fanaticks; for he writes, that, notwithstanding what was promised in your Declaration, Indemnity and Indulgence, yet he had couched Things so, that you could break them when you pleased, nor could you think yourself obliged to stand to them. This not only dissatisfied him, but also many of your Friends, who thought a more ingenuous Way of dealing better, both for your Honour and Interest. Never were Men in such a Consternation as Duke *Hamilton*, and the rest of the Parliament then at *Edinburgh*, when they heard, from these that fled,

fled, of the Defeat of *Mackay*; some were for retiring into *England*, others into the *western* Shires of *Scotland*; nor knew they whither to abandon the Government, or stay a few Days until they saw if my Lord *Dundee* came nearer, for they never imagined he was killed. Then they considered whether to set at Liberty all Prisoners, or to make them more close; the last was resolved; so we were all shut up: But though all Liberty was discharged us of seeing our Friends, yet we never had so many Visits of our Enemies, all making Excuses for what had past, protesting they always wished us well, as we should see whenever they had the Opportunity.

The Fright of these who fled augmented their own Loss; for Colonel *Lauder*, and several others, to excuse themselves, told all was cut off; when a few Days after, severals came to *Edinburgh* whom they had said were killed; and there being no Noise of the Viscount of *Dundee's* advancing forward, they began to take a little more Heart; and soon after they got Notice of his Death, which put them out of all Apprehension; for they knew well there was none in the Army could make Use of the Victory, which soon appeared, after that Colonel *Cannon* took the Command on him; for he not only delayed marching down the Country for several Days, but the first Thing he undertook failed, and his Party baffled, and severals of them killed and made Prisoners, only occasioned by Loss of Time.

When he came to *Dunkeld*, he had Intelligence that the Enemy had left some Provisions

at *St. Johnstoun*; so he commanded a Party to go and bring what was necessary for them.

Mackay had Notice sent him at *Stirling* from the Laird of *Weem* of *Dundee's* Death, and the bad Order that was among the *Highland Army*; whereupon he presently marched with about 300 Horse and Dragoons towards *St. Johnstoun*. *Cannon's* Party were then in the Town, and had done all they came for; so were surpris'd: Notwithstanding of this hard Beginning, *Cannon* got together 3000 Men and Horses, and would have got many more, had it not been for this unlucky Undertaking at the Beginning of his Command. After this *Mackay* advanced toward *Cannon*, who, not daring to meet such a Body of Horse in the plain Country, was obliged to take himself to the Mountains, making round the Skirts of the *Highlands*, while *Mackay* was marching on the Plain Ground, every Day in Sight of other, and exchanging Bravadoes to fight; but the one durst as little come up to the high Ground, as the other durst venture down to the Plain. At this Rate they kept together for a Month's Time, until *Cannon* got Intelligence; that 1200 of these called *Cameronians* were come to *Dunkeld*, with a Design to destroy the Country of *Athole*. He marched with all Haste back to them, and, before they had any Notice of his March, was so near them that they could not retire, but were forced to get into the Marquis of *Athole's* House to defend themselves, which they could never have been able to do, had not Colonel *Cannon* committed great Oversights; for, when he came to fire his Cannon against the Place, he had not so many

ny Balls as Cannons, although there were many taken with *Mackay's Cannon* at *Killicrankie*. This did so encourage the *Cameronians*, that, notwithstanding their Commander *Cleland* was killed, who was extremely brave, yet they continued to defend themselves so well, that Colonel *Cannon* was forced to retire, for Want of Ammunition as well as Cannon-ball, with much Loss both of his Men and Reputation. From that Time the *Highlanders* were much discouraged, and the Season of the Year being far advanced, most of them went home, the *Irish* and some Gentlemen remaining, who had joined him, and knew not where to retire.

Thus all the Hopes of your Friends were quickly dashed, and your Enemies were more and more encouraged, and so had Leisure to finish their Session of Parliament; which notwithstanding ended with so little Satisfaction to all Parties in it, that most of them run to *London*, some to complain that these Things had not been performed, which the Prince of *Orange* promised when he came to the Crown; others to defend themselves; for there were great Animosities among them, particularly against the Lord *Stairs*, who, though he had always been Fanatick, yet was he generally abhorred amongst them, being, as they said, a Man neither of Religion nor Honour; besides, he complied with all Governments, all Oaths, and other Engagements that were a-going for fifty Years before, and was Contriver of several of them, yet never was faithful to any Party.

The Favours done by the Prince of *Orange* to the Lord *Stairs*, and his Son, and these other Things

Things not done in Parliament which they expected, made many dissatisfied; but to take off the Odium of the last, and to shew he was not to blame, for their not having all they desired in Parliament, he caused print all his Instructions to Duke *Hamilton*, and laid all the Fault on him, which he most patiently suffered, and might very well have justified, since all he neglected to do was to satisfy the most bigotted Fanaticks, in not settling Religion as they would have it, and which they could not well agree about amongst themselves; so it was delayed.

The next Thing was the not restoring the forfeited Estates, which indeed Duke *Hamilton* thought unjust; but not the less that his Son and Brother was so much concerned, being in Possession of two of the best of them, by a Gift from your Majesty: but, to do him Justice, he was not for going to such a length of Extravagancies and Cruelty, as these enraged fanatick Rebels who came over with the Prince of *Orange*, which made the most Part of them his Enemies, until they took a general Hatred at the Lord *Melvil*. This made them join together more for Interest than Inclination; others went up to get the Rewards of their Services, but finding themselves disappointed of these Employments which they thought due to their Merit, quite broke off from the rest, though, to cover their Design the better, they continued still the most bigotted of the Party. The chief of these were, Sir *James Montgomery*, Earl of *Annandale*, Lord *Ross*, Mr. *William Hamilton*, and Mr. *James Ogilvie*, who at first in the Convention had behaved himself very well, but, by great Promises made him by Duke

Duke *Hamilton*, he went over to him, and, finding himself disappointed, joined again at *London* in all that was proposed him for your Majesty's Service by Sir *James Montgomery*, who managed the rest as he pleased, and having got acquainted with Mr. *Ferguson*, Mr. *Payne*, Captain *Williamson*, and some others that were in your Interest; engaged not only for himself, but for the others, without their Knowledge, trusting to his Power over them. The first of his own Set he proposed his Design to, was the Earl of *Annamdale* his Brother-in-law, whom he found very frank, as he always was, when the Change of a Party was offered; then to Lord *Ross*, and laid before them two, the Ingratitude of the Prince of *Orange*, in not giving them Employments, and the great Offers made by your Friends, if they would return to their Duty.

He wanted not Encouragement to say so; for Mr. *Payne* had promised him all that his Ambition, Vanity or Avarice could suggest; nor were there ever two better matched than Mr. *Payne* and Sir *James Montgomery*. For Mr. *Payne* made him believe that he could dispose both of Titles of Honour, Employments, &c. and Money, as he pleased; and the other imposed so far upon him, as to make him believe he was able to turn the whole Nation with a Speech, to do whatever he pleased.

After they had conserted their Affairs together, and disposed of every Thing according to their Fancies, they proposed their Resolutions of serving you to the Earl of *Arran*, then Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, who embraced it most willingly, judging that to get these who had been
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most eminent against you to come over, could not but make a considerable Interest. The next Step they made, was to send one over to your Majesty with the Offer of this Service, and Advice how all Things should be disposed of; though they found a Messenger fit for their Affair, called Mr. *Jones*, yet they had great Difficulty how to get their Commissions, Titles of Honour, and Instructions to the Parliament, worded according to Form; for none of them knew any Thing of the Matter: But Sir *Andrew Forrester* gave Doubles of all they desired to Mr. *Ferguson*, without knowing any Thing for whom, believing it could not but be for your Majesty's Service, since the Earl of *Arran* was concerned in it. After they had dispatched their Messenger, with all his Instructions, and having nothing to do till his Return, Sir *James* and Mr. *Ferguson*, being openly declared Enemies to the Lord *Melvil*, wrote a Pamphlet, which they called *The Grievances*. It gave great Offence, and broke Sir *James* for ever with the Prince of *Orange*, and all his Favourites. In which was laid open all their Follies, and Breach of Promises, with all the Bitterness Mr. *Ferguson's* Pen was capable of, who had been in constant Use of such Undertakings for many Years.

The Winter 1689 was thus spent at *London* in their private Councils, which made the Prince of *Orange* so weary of both Sides, that he told the Duke of *Hamilton*, that he was so much troubled about their Debates, that he wished *Scotland* 1000 Miles from *England*, and that he was never to be King of it. Duke *Hamilton*, though he was extremely both the Lord *Melvil's*
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and Lord *Stair's* Enemy, who were the chief Cause of these Debates, yet they went not publickly to the Meetings of your Enemies, which then got the Name of the Club, but lived in outward Civility with all till the Spring, that Lord *Melvil* came down Commissioner. While they were thus hot upon their Debates at *London*, the Council of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Crawford* constantly presided without any Commission, was very busy with the episcopal Clergy, who had not prayed for the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, as was ordered by the last Session of Parliament: a great many were summoned before the Council, and, upon their Refusal, turned out; others, who would have complied, and also made appear by their Defences, that it was impossible for them to be informed of the Order in so short a Time, were likewise turned out.

His Zeal carried all Things before him, and the rest complied with all that he proposed; so that what by the Council, by the Rabble, and by their new-levied Dragoons, the worst of either, there were but few left in their Churches before next Spring, save some that were willing to comply in every Thing, which rendered them contemptible even to their Enemies.

All that Winter Colonel *Cannon* lived quietly in *Lochaber*; your Majesty sent over major-general *Euchan* next Spring; so soon as he came, there was a Meeting of all the Chiefs of the Clans, and other Officers, who were there to consider then what was fit to be done. In that Meeting it was proposed by some, that, since they saw themselves out of all Hopes of Relief, which had been promised them, they should

should endeavour to make the best Capitulation for themselves they could: But Sir *Evan Cameron* of *Lochell*, who had great Influence among the rest, got them to change that Resolution, until first they had your Majesty's Orders; telling them, that, in your Brother's Service, he had been reduced to far greater Straits than ever they were; and would never capitulate till he got the King and General's Orders to do it; and that, for his Part, he was resolved never to hearken to any Conditions without your Warrant; and that he believed it would be a Scandal to them in the *Highlands* to think of capitulating, so long as your Majesty was in *Ireland* at the Head of an Army; and had so many Friends in *Britain*, who pretended to be willing to serve you: whereupon they all agreed willingly to his Advice: and it was resolved, that, until the Season of the Year was a little better advanced, and that the Seed was thrown into the Ground; before they made a general Rendezvous, and Forage in the Fields, and until their Friends in the *Low-Country* did come and join them; that Major-general *Buchan* should have a Detachment of 1200 Foot to go down to the Borders of the *Low-Country* to amuse the Enemy, and fatigue their Troops, by alarming them in several of their Quarters. Immediately he marched with them down *Strathspey*, and continued there without doing any Thing, till they were surpris'd at *Cromdale* by Sir *Thomas Livingston* about the Beginning of May.

The Spring being far advanced, and the Money that was laid on in the then last Session of Parliament exhausted, put the Prince of Orange to great

great Difficulties, either to grant the extravagant Demands urged by Sir *James Montgomery*, and these of his Party, or to let all the Army, which consisted of near 10,000 Men, be absolutely ruined for Want of Pay. The more the Club-party saw him straitned, the more they augmented their Pretensions ; and, being in this Necessity, he seemed to yield to their Demands, sending my Lord *Melvil* down with Instructions to grant these Things, yet only in case he could do no better, and saw imminent Danger from your Friends, which gave him a Pretext for yielding to several Things in Parliament above his Instructions, and contrary to the Prince of *Orange's* Inclinations, (this was after the Treachery of some of our Number had ruined all) and for which he would have been in Disgrace, if the Villainy of these, who made the Discovery of what was intended for your Service, had not brought him off, serving as a Pretence of absolute Necessity for what he did: For several Months before the Parliament had been adjourned from Time to Time. This put the Fanaticks, and these who were to have their Estates restored, in a mighty Rage, that they began to doubt of his Intentions either to establish their Religion, or restore their Estates to them ; but seeing the Lord *Melvil* was named Commissioner, and was preparing to go down, they all took Leave, most of them very Discontent: the Prince of *Orange* not having it in his Power to satisfy the third Part of these Pretenders.

Having ended their Affairs at *London*, both Sides hastened down to *Scotland* to secure to their Party such Members as had stayed there : Only Sir *James Montgomery*, who was the chief

Manager of his Party, stayed for some Weeks behind, and imparted his Design to several of your Friends there, who so believed him, and trusted so much to his Understanding, that he had 1100 Guineas given him by Mr. *Ashton* to advance your Interest: But the Marquis of *Arhole*, to whom Sir *James* had imparted all his Intentions, got the carrying of them down, and made his own Use of them, as shall be made appear. Of all that past amongst the Club-party at *London*, and of their Intentions to serve your Majesty, nothing was known in *Scotland* among your Friends, until the Earl of *Annandale* and Lord *Ross* came down. They openly exclaimed against the Usage they had met with from the Prince of *Orange*; but there was little Notice taken of it, considering the Unfitness of their Tempers, until the whole Set did the same. Their Discourses made your Friends hope some Use might be made of their Divisions, and so made them live more friendly with them than formerly. The Earl of *Annandale*, as he was always the most foreward of his Party; so in this was the first that proposed the whole Affair to the Earl of *Dunmore* and me, then in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. He said, That I, of all Men living, had least Reason to believe what he was about to tell me, considering how he had used me in the Convention, in leaving us abruptly, and becoming the most violent against us; he acknowledged his Fault, and wished, that the Blood of his Body could wash off the Stains of his past Miscarriages both to his King and Friends, and hoped, that these Misfortunes should for the future serve as so many Beacons to warn him to evite the like in Time coming; with a great deal
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more of this Sort, which he said with so much Passion, and Appearance of Sincerity, that we were but too soon taken with it, and were the more easily deceived, as being glad to find any returning to their Duty. He told us likewise, that he intirely confided in us, and put his Life and Fortune in our Hands, without pretending any Trust from us; only desired we might live in Friendship, until the Marquis of *Athole*, Duke of *Queensberry*, Earl of *Arran*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, and Sir *James Montgomery*, should come to Town, who would inform us of all that had passed at *London*; and that, since they had received your Majesty's Pardon for what was past, and were now venturing their Lives to serve you, they expected all your Friends would join heartily in the common Cause, to ruin the Prince of *Orange*, and restore your Majesty.

A few Weeks after, the Lord *Dunmore* and I had our Liberty, my Lord *Melvil* came down, and all the Parliament Members met, but were adjourned for a Fortnight. This gave Time to the Club-party to be industrious with your Friends to come in and join them, for settling Religion and the Peace of the Nation, as they pretended; for any Design for your Majesty's Service was to be kept secret amongst a few. The Difficulties were extraordinary how to reconcile such different Interests, Tempers and Persuasions, as were that of your Friends and the Club-party; for they, both in Convention and Parliament, had been the most violent against your Majesty, and against your Friends. Besides, their whole Design at the Bottom was the Height of Violence and Oppression;

pression; for their great Quarrel at the Prince of *Orange* was, for not suffering them to go to all the Extravagancies of their Religion and Revenge, which is so mingled together, that it is hard to know the one from the other: and they were likewise divided amongst themselves; for none, except *James* Lord *Ross*, Earl of *Annamdale*, and Mr. *Ogilvie*, were to know of any Resolution to serve your Majesty; and Duke *Hamilton* and his Followers had no Design but the Ruin of the Lord *Melvil* and Lord *Stair*, and to get the Session filled with his own Creatures, having at that Time many Law-suits in Hand; but though they had all different Designs, yet they all agreed in this, that nothing could be done except your Friends could be persuaded to join; because they saw Lord *Melvil* and *Stair's* Party would be too strong for them, having all the profitable Employments and Session in their Hands.

Sir *James Montgomery* undertook to manage this Affair, pretending he knew the Inclinations of a great many of your Friends, who would join with any Party to ruin the Lord *Melvil* and *Stair*, and keep publick Burdens to be employed in Parliament, and to oblige the Prince of *Orange* to establish the Session according to the Claim of Right voted in the Convention, and to have a *Habeas Corpus*, and Freedom of Speech in Parliament. These were the Prettexts he made Use of, which were so taking with the most Part of the bigottedest of them, that they doubted not to get these Acts past, if we would join with them in all other Demands; which were to have the Presbyterian Government established

blished in its Height of Power, the King's Supremacy, and the Committee of Parliament, called *The Articles*, (which was already voted in the Convention a Grievance) taken away. This by the Generality of them was believed at first to be all the Design, not knowing in the least that it was only to make them disoblighd at the Prince of *Orange*, if he should refuse their Demands; and to try next, if your Majesty would grant them: For all Kings, just or unjust, are alike to them-

To all your Friends it was very evident how great an Advantage might be made by joining with the violent Party; for by that we thought ourselves sure of breaking their Army, which consisted of about 10,000 Men, which must immediately be disbanded, when they saw the Parliament establish no Funds, neither for paying their Arrears, nor Subsistence, and all going in Confusion; and your Majesty being then in *Ireland*, and the Highlanders in a better Disposition to rise, it was easy to make a good Use of their Disorders.

Sir *James*, in the first Meeting we had with him, laid out the great Advantages your Interest would obtain, if this succeeded; the Strength of his own Party, and all the Influence he had over them. He told us likewise of their sending a Messenger to your Majesty, with Assurances of their returning to their Duty, but said nothing of the Instructions, Commissions, and pernicious Advices he had sent along, believing as undoubtedly, it would have hindered us from joining with them; for by this we should have clearly seen, it was only trying to make a better

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Bargain for themselves that made them change Parties, and not out of any Sentiments of Conviction for having done amiss: but, tho' it was very evident to us, what Disorder we would make among our Enemies, and what Profit to your Party, by going into the Parliament; yet to join with our mortal Enemies, only to make the one Half ruin the other, and to take an Oath of Allegiance to an Usurper, and to comply with them in Things that had always been against our Principles, were so hard to get over, that some of us had great Difficulty to overcome them; nor even could any have done it, but from the great Desire we had to be Instruments of your Majesty's Restoration, and Ruin of your Enemies.

There were two Things besides that made us very willingly join with them; the Marquis of *Arthole* and the Earl of *Arran* both asserted your Majesty's knowing of the Design, and approving of it, so far as to be convinced, at that Time, you thought it the greatest Piece of Service could be done you: Next, the Viscount of *Tarbat's* assuring us positively the Prince of *Orange* was fully resolved never to grant any of these Demands, which he knew the Club-party intended to propose in Parliament: And being sure of their firm Resolution to grant nothing except they obtained all they desired, we could not doubt but to obtain all that we pretended, which was the Dissolution of the Parliament. Nor could it be imagined but Lord *Tarbat* wished it as well as we, though on different Motives; for then he was intirely in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest, and trusted more by him than any in the Nation, insomuch that, at his coming from *London*

don, he had a Trust given him that few Subjects ever had the like ; for he had a full Power to make a Cessation of Arms, or Peace with the *Highlanders*, and to dispose of 20,000 *l. Sterling*, as he thought fit, for the Prince of *Orange's* Service, and of three Titles of Honour to whom he pleased, and was to give Account of all that passed in Parliament, and had full Power to adjourn or dissolve as he thought fit.

But though he had all this Trust, and might dissolve the Parliament when he pleased, yet he durst not venture it ; and though he had more Enemies there, and was more afraid of its sitting than any of your Servants, yet thought he would get it easier done, and with less Hazard to himself, by the high Demands of the Club-party, which would have the same Effect to serve himself and enrage the Prince of *Orange* at his Enemies. These Considerations made him take more Pains under-hand, than any, to engage your Friends with the Club-party, and to get them to the Parliament. To some who believed him, he said, he designed nothing by it but your Service, and to others, that it was for the Good of the Nation, by obtaining Acts that would be so beneficial to it. Being thus made to believe that your Majesty liked the Proposition, and the Hopes of doing what we designed, made us resolve, notwithstanding all our Scruples, not only to join with the Club, but to use all our Endeavours to persuade our Friends, and all these we had any Influence upon, to do the like, which succeeded as we could wish. For most of all who had continued firm to your Interest resolved to follow our Example, without desiring to know
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the Bottom of what secret Correspondence we had with the Club-party: Some there were that made Difficulty, as the Earl of *Hume*, Earl of *Lauderdale*, Lord *Oxford*, Lord *Stormont*, and the Sheriff of *Bute*; but their Reasons were more from Apprehension of betraying, and yielding to the Prince of *Orange*, than any other Scruples; though I doubt not but some of them had their Reasons, and so they might very justly, considering how nice a Point it was: others appeared resolved, and engaged fairly; but, when the Time of the sitting down of the Parliament drew near, they absented themselves, which gave great Encouragement to Lord *Melvil* and all his Party to meet in Parliament, who were in such Apprehensions of no Success a little before, that several Times he was resolved to dissolve it, and take a Venture of another; but when they found several of your Friends draw back, and had secured to themselves several Votes by dividing the Office of every Register in Six, and giving each a Vote, and one for a Treasurer-deputy, and by giving Money to some, and Promises of Employment to others, they so strengthened their Party, that they again took Heart, and then resolved to begin their Session of Parliament, which sat down the Day of *April* 1690. But, notwithstanding all the sinistrous Courses that were taken to procure Votes, never were Men in such Apprehensions and Fears, as the Lord *Melvil* and all his Friends; for they not only saw the Danger of their whole Party, if they succeeded not, but immediate Ruin to themselves from the Prince of *Orange*, to whom they had so fairly undertaken. After he had
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read over (trembling) the Speech that he had got made for him, and that his President, the Earl of *Crawford*, had made another, all taken from the old Prophets, which he applied to that Occasion, as of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah's* building again the Temple of *Jerusalem*; they brought in a Vote about the Election of a Burgh, only to know their Strength, which they found above their Expectation: they carried it but by six or seven, which makes a Demonstration, that, if these of your Friends who engaged unto us had not failed, we had out-voted them in that, and consequently had all our Design: For it was firmly resolved among them, that, if they had lost that Vote, though of no Consequence, they would have adjourned the Parliament next Day; but gaining it, they took Heart, and that, which befell your Friends in the Convention, happened just again; for severals, who pretended to be our Friends when they thought us strongest, left us immediately when they saw the contrary, and joined with the other Party. Sir *James Montgomery* also failed, and severals he engaged for, believing his Interest far greater with them than really it was; so from that Minute, we lost Hopes of doing any Good: but seeing we had once made such a Step, we resolved to stay in the House, though it should be for nothing, but to hinder them from going on so fast in their Design of forfeiting all those who had appeared for your Majesty, and the giving of Money so soon as they intended to support their Forces and Government; but never Men made a more miserable Figure in any Meeting than your Friends did in this. After

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they saw themselves abandoned, and out-voted in every thing, they had nothing to do but sit, and hear Duke *Hamilton* bawl and bluster, (his usual Custom) and then acquiesced to all that was proposed; and Sir *James Montgomery* and Sir *John Dalrymple* scolded like Water-men, so that *Rogue*, *Villain*, and *Liar*, were their usual Expressions to one another. These two were the chief Managers on both Sides. Sir *John* pretending to maintain the King's Prerogative, and Sir *James* the Liberty of the Subject, and the Claim of Right; and, though he was never bred with such Undertakings, yet, with Abundance of Confidence and Eloquence, he managed the Affair; and if he had wanted Sir *John Dalrymple*, and your Friends had not been very indifferent who had lost or won, after they saw all their Designs desperate, he had undoubtedly put them to greater Straits: for the Things he urged were very popular, and agreeable to the Inclinations of many of the Members; and, notwithstanding all Disappointments, we were still hopeful to make them break amongst themselves, by proposing what we thought never would be granted; but in this also we were disappointed: For my Lord *Melvil*, to justify what he and his Party had so great a Desire to do, but durst not adventure before, having got the Pretext of the imminent Danger that both the Prince of *Orange* and the Kingdom were in, by the secret Plots and Contrivances of your Majesty's Friends, yielded to all that was demanded: In his Instructions, he was allowed to pass what Acts the Parliament should think fit, and establish what Form of Government they liked best.

Several Days past without daring to mention Presbytery, (though most there desired it) knowing it was contrary to the Prince of *Orange's* Inclinations, who feared the Consequence it might have in *England*; besides, he liked best to have it undetermined till his Affairs were better established, that he might keep both Parties in Hopes: But Sir *James*, in a fair set Speech, spoke out what they all generally wished, but feared to name, and that he knew there was Instructions for settling Religion, and said, he thought it was a Shame for that Meeting it was not yet done: but the Reasons were well known; for some amongst them, to flatter the Court, against their own Principles, had delayed it: He knew likewise, some were for making one Kind of Government, some another; some were for a certain Kind of Presbytery, called, *Erastianism*, like that of *Holland*; but he told them they could not, nor ought there any to be established in *Scotland* but the Presbyterian, as it was in the Year 1648, which was the Government in the world, not only most according to the Word of God, but fittest to curb the extravagant Power of Kings, and arbitrary Government, under which they had groaned many Years.

This Speech, to us that knew his Secrets, seemed a little extraordinary; but he excused himself, and said he was obliged to do so, otherwise he would lose all Credit with his Party, and that it signified nothing, since he knew that Lord *Melvil* never durst pass it, though it came to be approved. This Speech was approved of by the House, and a Committee appointed to receive

receive all the Forms of Government that should be brought before them, and to report their Opinions of them, and till this was ready they adjourned for some Days; during which, Sir *James* received from *Ireland* a Return of his Message with Mr. *Jones*. The first Night, he opened, alone, a great black Box, where all the Commissions and Instructions were, and then sent for the Earl of *Annandale*, *Arran*, and my Lord *Ross*, and told the Return of all they sent was come, but that he believed there were several Things among them would be improper to let the Duke of *Queensberry*, Earls of *Linthgow*, *Breadalbin*, or me, see, though we were only those of your Friends whom they had trusted with their Message. These four, after they had considered them all, made up another Box, such as they thought fit to shew, and sealed it, to make us believe it never had been opened, and in great Haste Sir *James* desired us to meet in the Marquis of *Athole's* Lodging; and, after a formal Discourse of his Endeavours to serve your Majesty, ever since he went up with an Offer of the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*, and the Message he had sent your Majesty, said, he now desired to meet with us, to tell us, that he had got a Return; that there was a great Bundle of Papers come over, but, considering we were all of one Interest, he could not open it, nor look on any Thing till we did it all together, and intreated we might meet that Afternoon; and, to shew the intire Trust he had in us, he would keep nothing that he knew from us, but would shew us what he had received from the King. The Earl of *Arran* excused himself
from

from meeting, pretending he was obliged to go out of Town; but the true Reason was, he thought they had cheated him, in not sending for his Commission to be General, as was agreed upon among them at *London*. The Duke of *Queensberry* also excused himself; so that none came but the Marquis of *Athole*, *Linlithgow*, Lord *Ross*, Earl of *Breadalbin*, and myself. Sir *James* brought in a black Box (which was a Burden for him to carry) which I looked upon, and considered the Seals, because I always suspected a Trick from him: He told us, he had brought all, except a Letter from your Majesty to himself, without knowing, as he should answer to Almighty God, what was in the Box, which none of us believed; for he quite changed the Pack-thread, and clapp'd on his own Seal, after he had opened the Box, and shewn what he had thought fit to bring. We were all in Confusion to find that we had joined ourselves to such a Crew, that had so much Knavery as impose these Things on your Majesty, and so much Weakness as to think they could bring about all your Enemies to declare for you, without any Force: They were in no less Confusion than we, finding we saw their Folly in undertaking Things they had not the least Shaddow of Power to perform.

They had promised to get all that Parliament to declare for your Majesty, and immediately to meet in your Majesty's Name. The Earl of *Annandale*, Commissioner, was made a Marquis, Sir *James* was made Earl of *Air*; Lord *Ross*, likewise an Earl, and all Employments of Council, Session and Army, were entirely put into their Hands, and these of their Friends, who
were

were generally the greatest Fanaticks, and had always been the greatest Enemies to Monarchy.

There were likewise great Bundles of Letters not directed, but left to their Direction, to be given to any of your Friends they thought fit to trust, which indeed we thought was a little hard to be put in their Hands, who had been for forfeiting your Majesty, and also endeavouring to ruin us on that Account: Besides what we saw, there were many other Commissions, Patents, and Remissions that were made publick by themselves, after they had made their Discovery to Lord *Melvil*; but, tho' they were fond to get these Commissions, when they came, they were confounded what to do with them; to keep them, they saw, there would be no Use for them, and they put in a continual-Hazard; it was resolved, they should be all burnt, but their Patents had not been shown. Next, how to dispose of their Messenger put them in great Disorder, which made the Earl of *Linlithgow* carry him to his House some Miles from *Edinburgh*, where, after he had stayed some Nights, he got from him all that Sir *James* had concealed, notwithstanding that Sir *James* wrote to Mr. *Jones* not to trust any of us with his Message, but as far as he had already shewn; yet all was out, ere the Letter came to his Hands: besides, Mr. *Jones* had been but a few Hours in *Edinburgh*, yet he saw all Sir *James's* Projects were so miserably founded, which made him beg to be employed back again to your majesty; but few of us desired to have any more to do with Sir *James*, or his Messenger: For afterwards we had little meddling with them, though they extremely

tremely desired it, and that we should send back Mr. Jones, with a blank Sheet of Paper subjoined to be filled up when he came to you: Majesty, with our Advice, which the Duke of *Queensberry*, *Linlithgow*, *Breadalbin*, and myself, absolutely refused, which almost broke us entirely with them; and the more because some of our Number complied with their Desires: For the Earl of *Arran* not only did it himself, but got the Lord *Murray* to do it also, though he had not been engaged with us in any of your Concerns; but, on the contrary, we looked on him as one of the principal Destroyers of your Affairs, both in the *Highlands*, and at the Beginning of the Revolution. In the *Highlands* your Affairs had no better Success than in the Parliament; for General *Buchan* having come too near the Enemy, Sir *Thomas Livingston*, with a Party of Dragoons, surprized him at *Cromdal*, killed about 100, made several Prisoners, and dispersed his whole Party. When this News came to *Edinburgh* of a Defeat, your Friends then repented their not embracing the Offer of a Cessation of Arms, made them by the Prince of *Orange*, which the Lord *Tarbat* had the Management of; but not being desirous to appear above Board himself in such a Transaction, he proposed it to the Earl of *Breadalbin*, with the Offer of 5000 *l. Sterl.* if he could accomplish it; for the Prince of *Orange* was extremely desirous to have all settled before he went to *Ireland*; but the Earl of *Breadalbin* would not meddle with any such Affair without the Consent of your Friends at *Edinburgh*, who at that Time would not hear of it; so the Earl

of *Breadalbin* very generously gave it over: For, besides the 5000 *l. Sterl.* he had other considerable Rewards offered him, though, after this Defeat, we were all willing a Treaty might be brought on again, considering at least it would gain Time until the *Highlanders* could put themselves in a Posture of Defence. The Prince of *Orange* was just then going for *Ireland*, which made the Earl of *Breadalbin* endeavour to meet him, to get the Cessation ended; but he was gone before he got to him, by which the *Highlanders* were left to the Mercy of their Enemies, who might have done much more to ruin them, if they had pursued their Victory at *Cromdal*.

Your Friends at *Edinburgh* were, in no better Condition, being forced to sit in a Meeting amidst their Enemies, and hear them establish Presbytery, and rescind all Acts which had been any Ways prejudicial to their Interest, restoring all Forfeitures and Fines, tho' transacted for, that was granted by your Brother or your Majesty for these that served you against them; and, above all, the forfeiting of these who appeared for you in Arms, except Sir *William Wallace*, who was overlooked, though they had as full Probation against him as any of the rest: And to finish all our Misfortunes, the most considerable of these of that Party we had joined not only left us, but betrayed us, as soon as they saw small Probability of effectuating their own Designs, which was the only Thing they had still, and all along, aimed at, and not your Service, as they pretended. Some Days before the Prince of *Orange* went to *Chester*, I had Warning given me,

me by Mr. *Ogilvie*, that the Lord *Roths* designed to go to meet him, and make a Discovery of all he knew; which made us send the Earl of *Linlithgow* to him, to try if he had any such Intention; but he protested the contrary with great Oaths: some were inclined to believe him, and others for taking a surer Way to hinder his Discovery, since their own Lives and Estates depended upon your Affairs; but it was of so dangerous a Consequence, and so unjust, unless we had greater Proof of the Suspicion, that most of us abhorred the Motion.

A few Days after, though he gave over his Journey to *Chester*, believing, by what the Earl of *Linlithgow* said to him, that we suspected him, and so might have way-laid him, yet, notwithstanding all his renewed Oaths, he sent for one Mr. *Dunlop*, a fanatick Minister, and revealed all he knew to him; and also told *Dunlop*, that he was under great Trouble of Conscience, and desired his Prayers to enable him to open his Heart to him: After long Prayers, and many Sighs and Tears, he told him all he knew; God was thanked again, as its being the Effect of Mr. *Dunlop's* Prayers being heard.

Next Morning he sent the Minister to Lord *Melvil* to tell him, he had a Business of great Import to tell the Queen, for which he desired a Pass, and immediately had it; and, before he went, he told *Melvil* in general, that there were dangerous Matters against the King and Government, in which he had had too great a Share, and for which he had sought God's Pardon, but was denied; and was now going to seek it from
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the Queen, to whom he would discover all he knew, when at *London*. The first Meeting he had with the Princess of *Orange*, he told her the whole Affair, and laid all the Blame on Sir *James Montgomery*; when she had heard all his Story, she sent for the Earls of *Denbigh* and *Nottingham*, that he might tell it over again before them; but, when they came in, he denied all he had said to her; he never intended she should make any other Use of it, than to prevent the Dangers she and the Kingdom were in, but nothing should ever force him to be an Evidence against those he had been in Friendship with. For this he was immediately sent to the Tower, where he lay 8 or 9 Months; nor could any Thing ever induce him to say more, though he had both Threatnings and Allurements to intice him. It was no sooner known that Lord *Rothes* was gone, but his Errand was made publick.

Mr. *Dunlop*, according to the Custom of his Profession, made no Secret of his Confession, which so much alarmed Sir *James Montgomery*, that he resolved not to be long behind him; for he saw himself ruined with his violent Party, to whom he had been professing all along, Principles so far to the contrary; but, to go with a Confession to his mortal Enemy, my Lord *Melvil*, to seek Mercy from the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who he knew abhorred him, were Hardships; yet with a good Share of Confidence, and Assurance of making a fine Story of it to their Advantage, he doubted not to succeed with the Lord *Melvil*.

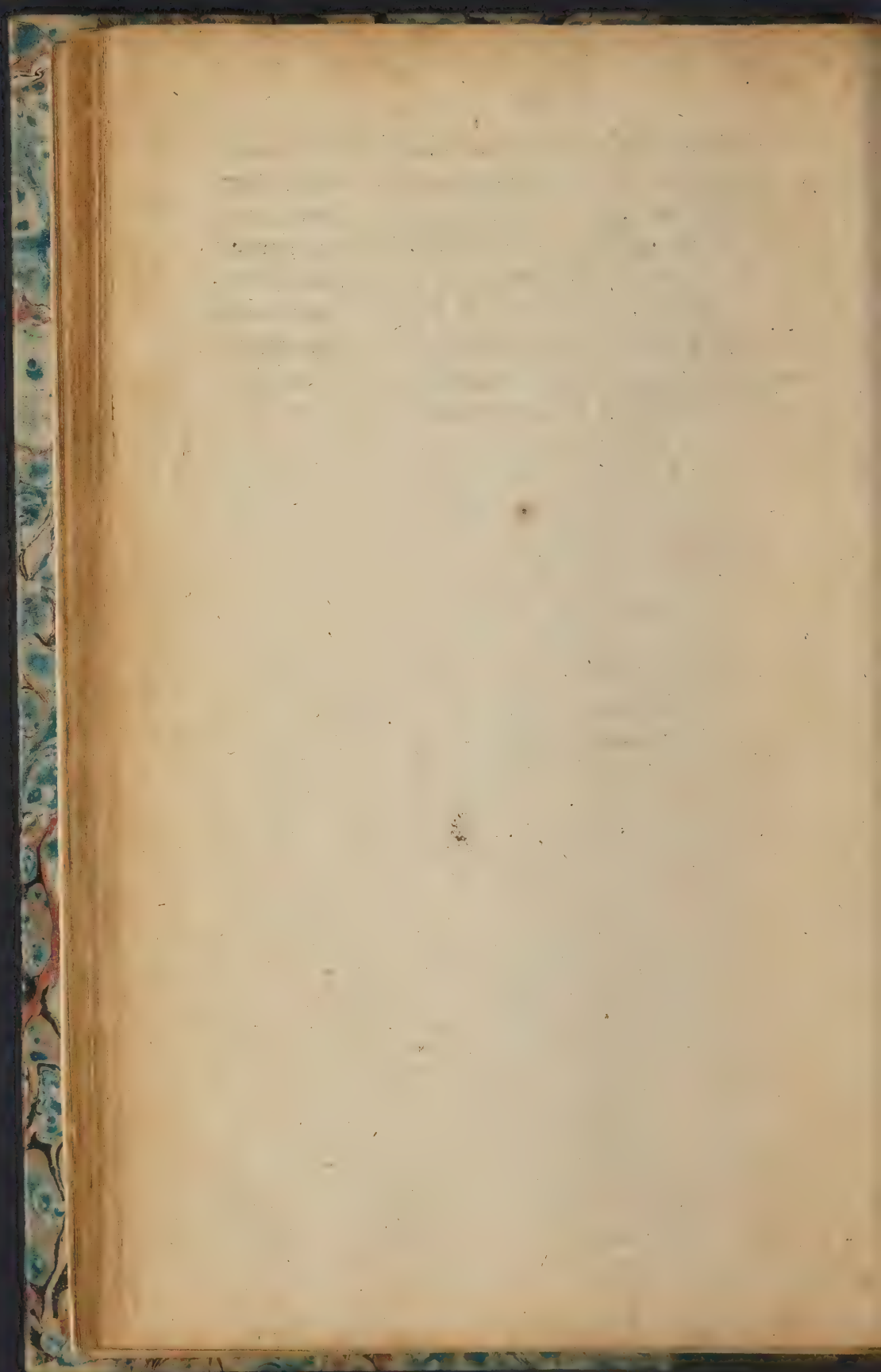
He insinuated so far as to be trusted to go to *London* to tell all his Business himself, and, to gain

gain the greater Credit with *Melvil*, he put in to his Hands what Letters he had received from the Queen, which was a joyful Sight to him; for, from what they contained, he ventured to touch all the Acts, which it was believed he never would do, that were displeasing to the Prince of *Orange*, (though he was forced to please the Club-party, to put them in his Instructions) and severals, for which he had no Warrant; making the imminent Danger they were in an Excuse for all. In these Letters were several Promises of Assistance from *France*, of Men, Money, and Arms: He likewise gave up the Instructions sent the Earl of *Annandale*, when he should be Commissioner to the Parliament: But in all these Discoveries, there was never a Word mentioned of their Patents, and the Remissions sent to Duke *Hamilton*, and others of their Friends. When Sir *James* came to *London*, he was so cautious as not to go near the Prince of *Orange*, till he had Assurance that, in case they could not agree on their Terms, he should not be detained, which was granted; but, tho' he confessed most of all his Transactions with your Majesty and Friends, yet he would neither promise to be an Evidence, nor yet give his Advice how Things might be prevented; and to magnify himself, he made the Hazard much greater than it was, unless he was secure of a full Pardon of all the Crimes he should name, and then have a good Employment; pretending the Lowness of his Estate, which was ruined by the Severity of the last Government. - The Princess of *Orange* would willingly have granted
all

all he demanded; and wrote in his Favours to the Prince of *Orange* in *Ireland*; but something had past betwixt the Prince of *Orange* and Sir *James* in private, which made the Prince have such an Abhorrence at him, that he would not hear of employing him: A Remission he would have granted upon Condition of his being an Evidence, but that would not do Sir *James's* Business; so he absconded, and, a few Months after, did all he could again to justify himself to your Friends, which took with not a few. The Earl of *Annandale* quickly followed Sir *James*, yet went not to *London*, but lived privately at the *Bath*, which, when it was heard, there was a Warrant sent to bring him up: But Mr. who had been Mayor of the Town, helped him to escape. When he was come to *London*, Mr. *Ferguson* entertained him privately for several Weeks; at last he was wearied of lurking, and sent for Mr. *Lockhart*, whom Lord *Melvil* kept when at *London* to do Business in his Absence; he told of the Mayor of *Bath*, and Mr. *Ferguson* who had entertained him, and signed a Confession, the most scandalous Thing that any of the Name of a Gentleman ever did: For he not only told what had past amongst us in publick, but private Conversations he had had with severals of your Friends; and likeways of Mr. *Payne*, all that had passed betwixt them at their first Meeting, for which Mr. *Payne* was sent to the Tower, and endured it with great Courage and Constancy: And that which made his Part yet more base, was, after Mr. *Payne* had escaped out of Prison, and fled to *Scotland*, thinking he would be secure with the Earl

Earl of *Annandale*, he came to his Country-house, and was taken there by *Annandale's* own Servants, and brought to *Edinburgh*, where, upon the Earl of *Annandale's* Confession against him in *England*, he suffered the utmost Barbarity: The Treachery of these three made all your Friends at *Edinburgh* so concerned, though they were not so fully informed of their Hazard, that most of them left it.

F I N I S.



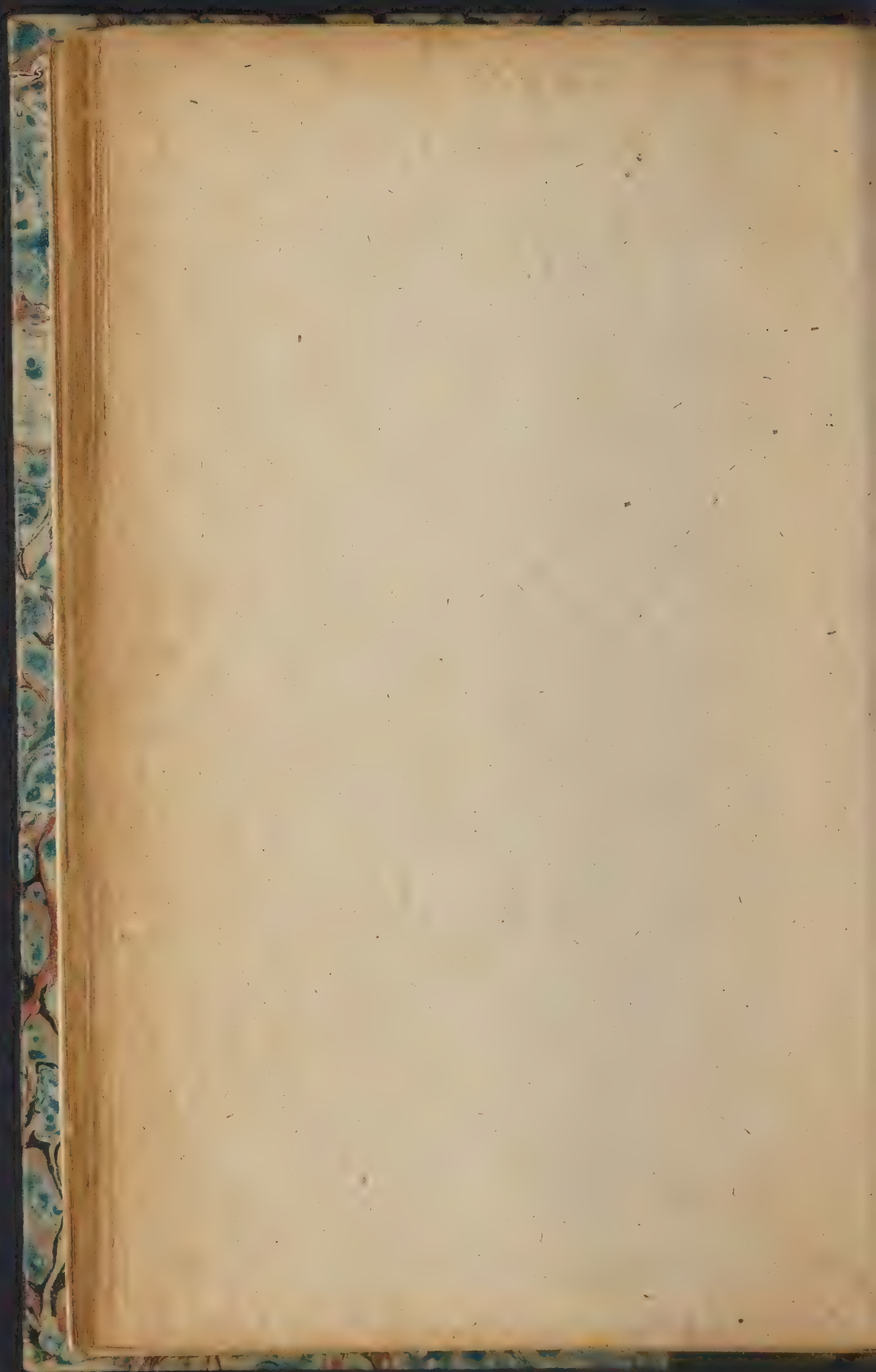
A SHORT
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION
IN
SCOTLAND;

IN A
LETTER from a SCOTs Gentleman in
AMSTERDAM to his Friend at LONDON.

Cockburn, John

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P R E F A C E.

THE many Misrepresentations of the constitution of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, which were industriously spread all over *England* at and since the Revolution in 1688, made me think it necessary to write the following Pamphlet to undeceive the *English*; especially, when I found the complying Clergy of *England* had not such Bowels of Compassion for their persecuted Brethren, the deprived Clergy of *Scotland*, as I did believe they would have, if their Case were rightly represented.

And also I found the *English* did generally believe, that there was no Alteration in the Civil Constitution of *Scotland*, but meerly the setting up one King for another; which, in *England*, all who were for the Revolution pleaded the Civil Constitution of *England* justified, or least upon such an extraordinary Occasion; and therefore they seemed to wonder why there should be any Non-jurors in *Scotland*, being persuaded by the Revolution-writers, that the Civil Constitution of *Scotland* gave rather a greater Liberty to the People in such Cases, than even that of *England*: Whereas it will appear by what follows, that the whole Constitution of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, was totally subverted by the Revolution, and that
not

not by the Majority of either Peers or Commoners, but by a few who were outlawed and forfeited for High-treason and Rebellion, who were Presbyterians, and Enemies to both the Church and King. These were the only Contrivers and Promoters of the Revolution there, and the total Subversion of the legal Methods of electing the elective Members of Parliament, put it in the Power of this out-lawed Handful of Men, who had made a Party amongst the Mob, (by the Toleration which King *James VII.* gave the Presbyterians) to do all the rest that was done upon that Occasion, which quickly ended in a total Subversion of the whole Constitution.

This being the Case, and it being so little thought of, or known in *England*, I found it a necessary Duty to my Country to give a short History of its Constitution, with its last Breath and expiring Groans: And I think I have done it as modestly and succinctly as the Subject can well bear; and shall conclude with the last Words of the Earl of *Finlater*, as Chancellor of *Scotland*, at the End of the Union-parliament, where he presided;

There is an End of an auld Sang.

To his immortal Memory and Honour.

A
SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION
IN
SCOTLAND, &c.

SIR,

I Received your Letter in due Time, wherein you desire to know of me, what were the most remarkable Alterations in Church and State, made by the Revolution in *Scotland*; and telling that many of the *English*, particularly of the Clergy, do not think the *Scots* fond enough of the Revolution, nor grateful enough for their Delivery from Popery by it, the Preservation of their Liberties, and the Confirmation of their
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Property; in short, for keeping our Constitution from being pulled to Pieces.

In Obedience to your Commands, I shall give you such an Account, as I am able, of the great and material Changes, without descending to the more minute or circumstantial Alterations produced by the Revolution in *Scotland*; and I shall make no Remarks upon them.

In order to this, it will be necessary to give you, in the first Place, a short Sketch of what was our Constitution before the Revolution, that you may the more clearly perceive what, and how material, the Alterations since are.

I shall begin with the Monarchy, which, till the Revolution, was undoubtedly hereditary: It is true, there have been frequent Disputes about the Succession, which in those Days never were founded upon popular Power of creating Kings, or for *Election*, but only who was the Person nearest of Kin to the Crown, that he might succeed: For all seemed to agree that the Crown should come to whoever had the nearest hereditary Title to it. So the only Dispute was, who was this nearest Heir. It is also true, that there were several Rebellions in *Scotland*, some of longer, some of shorter Continuance; some more, some less successful; but then at length the hereditary Succession did take Place, and Right, as it was then understood, got the better of wrong, and came to run in its old Channel; nor were we ever blessed with solid Peace but when governed by our hereditary Kings: And our hereditary Monarchy has been conveyed down by a numerous Succession of Kings, such as no Nation, that I know, can shew the

the like ; for I have seen a Coin struck in the Reign of King *James VI.* with this Inscription, *Post quinque et centum proaves, invicta manent hec:* And there is a Subscription over one of the Gates of *Stirling Castle*, in King *James V's* Time, to the same Effect.

The Parliament of *Scotland* consisted of three Estates ; the first of which was the Bishops, the second the greater and lesser Barons, the third the Burghs, who all sat together in one large Room, and the King, or his Commissioner, at their Head, on a high Throne under a noble Canopy. Nor could the Parliament meet without the King's Summons, nor sit, nor act, but when the King, or his Commissioner, were sitting upon the Throne, without being guilty of High-treason.

And such Respect was paid to the King, that to draw a Sword, or put on a Hat in the Parliament-house, while either he or his Representative were present upon the Throne, was High-treason.

The Chancellor of *Scotland* was, by Virtue of his Office, President of the Parliament ; and in Defect of such, the King by his Letter appointed whom he pleased to be their President: nor could they adjourn themselves so much as from Day to Day, without express Order of the Throne by the Mouth of the Chancellor or President.

There were eight Officers of State, who, as such, sat upon one or other of the Steps of the Throne, or near it, and had votes in Parliament: And in Defect of any one of these, upon Death or a Vacancy, the King by a Letter did appoint any one he pleased to sit and vote in the Place of the Officer of State so deficient.

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When the Parliament met, one of the first Things they were ordered to do was to chuse the *Lords of the Articles*; and all Bills were first brought before them, and if they, or a Majority of them, did approve of them, then they were brought into the House, otherways not.

The Crown had ever the Negative; so that when a Bill had passed the Parliament, if it was not touch'd by the King, or his Commissioner, with the Royal Scepter, it had an End; and many more Prerogatives the Crown had, too tedious here to mention.

The Bishops, who were the first Estate, sat in Right of their Sees, by which likeways their Precedency was determined, and they all voted before the Lay-nobility.

The second Estate consisted of two Sorts of Men; first the Lay-nobility or greater Barons, who sat by Patent; their Honours and Privileges were heritable, and descended to the nearest in Blood: some few Nobleimen however we have had, who were only such for Life. The second Branch of the second Estate were the lesser Barons, or Commissioners for the Shires: They were Gentlemen, who, by holding a certain Value of Lands of the Crown, were thereby capable of *electing* or being *electd*; and they were chosen in their respective Counties or Shires, and so sat in Right of *Election*; and every Shire was confin'd to a certain Number of them, which they could not exceed.

The third Estate was that of Burghs, which also sat in Right of *Election*, and were likeways confin'd to a certain Number: They were always chosen, each of them by the *Bench*, and not
by

by the *Poll*; that is, they were elected by the Magistrates and the Town-council of every Royal or King's Burgh; for only such had the Privilege of sending Commissioners or Representatives to Parliament.

Nor was the Crown confined to any certain Number of Nobility, or Burghs-royal; but could create as many Noblemen, and erect as many Towns into royal Burghs, as it pleased.

We had another Thing, in our Constitution, like a Parliament, which we called a *Convention of Estates*, and which the King might call when he pleased; and tho' it consisted of the same Sort of People, in the same Way admitted to be Members of it, as of a Parliament; yet in this it differ'd from a Parliament, that no Laws were made in a Convention, but such as imposed Taxes; so that it was a legal Way of taxing the Subjects, without meddling with any other Business. In a Convention of Estates, there could be no tacking or bartering with the Crown, for Money given.

Thus the Revolution found us: the *Crown* in full Possession of its ancient hereditary Rights and Powers, and able to exert itself; the *Church* as fully settled as Laws and Acts of Parliament could possibly do it, and filled with a great many orthodox, loyal and learned Clergymen; the *Subjects* sworn by Allegiance to their hereditary Monarchy in the Person of King *James VII.* then King *de jure & de facto*, being without Competitor, in full and quiet Possession; and the ancient *Constitution*, by which they enjoyed as much Liberty as they were the better for,
and

and had their Property secured by excellent Laws : particularly the Bishops had a full Right to their Revenues for Life ; their Courts of Justice were filled with Judges learned in the Law, and very just in their Decisions. There was profound Peace all over the Kingdom, and the far greater, and much every Way the better, Part of the Nation, were very well contented with their Circumstances, and not at all desirous of Changes.

The Heat of some new Converts in King *James's* Time, push'd that Prince into some Measures which his other loyal Subjects, and even the old Papists, were sorry for ; but yet were passive, and would not rebel : And when an Attempt was made in Parliament to repeal the penal Statutes, it was defeated, but still with great Dutifulness to the King, and good Manners to his Representative ; though the Generality of the Papists and Presbyterians in *Scotland* applied their joint Interest to promote the Repeal. This, by the Way, shews how firm and strong the true Church-party was in *Scotland* at that Time, in comparison of all that were of different Communions, and dissented from her.

After the Prince of *Orange* landed in *England*, and had got to *London*, some few *Scots* Lords, who happened to be there at that Time, did address him in the name and Behalf of the People of *Scotland*, though I could never learn they had any Authority or Commission from *Scotland* for so doing ; for the Ministry and Government there stood then just as it had done.

Then the Prince of *Orange* issued out Writs in his own Name, tho' then a Foreigner, calling a Convention of Estates in *Scotland*, which our Law gave him

no Authority to do: And the Convention, so by him called, did meet on the Day by him appointed; though indeed many whom he called to it were afraid to come at his Summons, being a Stranger, and having, as they conceived, no Authority from the King, nor by the Laws, for so doing, lest, if this Affair had miscarried, it might have been construed High-treason in them to have met without the King's Writ, or at least to act, when met, without his Authority; and for the same Reason, many who did come, and met in the Parliament-house at *Edinburgh* on the Day he appointed, did very soon go away again, when they found it was not to act by the King's Authority, but by that of a Stranger; and some entered their Protestations against the Meeting, as being an unlawful Assembly. All these Things gave the Presbyterians an Opportunity of managing their own Designs with much the less Opposition: For such a Number of People, from their Scruples, either not coming, or leaving the Convention, soon gave the Presbyterians the Majority into their own Hands; which they being once possessed of, contrary to even their own Expectation, were not such Fools as to part with after; tho' some who had left them had got over their Scruples, and were willing to return: but then no Right nor Reason could induce them to admit any amongst them who were not altogether such as themselves. And the Truth is, the People who staid in the Convention, and voted there, were so few, that they looked more like a small Committee than the Representatives of the Nation, and several of them were Persons under the Sentence of Forfeiture and Banishment

for High-treason; and yet they sat there, and voted in the most considerable Points before them, before they were restored to their Blood, or indemnified, or had Remissions from any Mortal; and it was after the Convention was turned to a Parliament, that their Forfeitures were rescinded.

The whole Estate of Burghs, who were Members of that Convention, were chosen in such a Manner as was never before heard of, or known in *Scotland*; entirely different from what our Law and Practice did direct. For the Prince of *Orange* ordered the Burghs in particular, and expressly, to chuse each its Commissioner by the *Poll*; and they were accordingly chosen by the *Mob*, who chose any Body they were directed to chuse, who, they were told, would be favourable to his Interest, who had invested them with a new Power they never had before, and were fond of. This, however necessary some then thought it, cannot be denied to have been a plain Breaking in upon our Constitution in a Matter of great Importance, and a manifest Violation of all our then standing Laws and Customs in such Elections, and such as even the King could not have made, at least, without a Parliament.

When the Convention met, they chose their President; and when a Letter was offered them from the King, they refused to allow it to be read till they had first declared themselves *free*, which they did; and then read it, but did not regard it. One of the first Things they did after this, was to vote Episcopacy a Grievance.

Another Thing they did very early, was to lay aside *Lords of the Articles*, till then c-

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ver thought an essential Part of our Parliamentary Constitution.

Then they went on to forfeit the King in Absence; which they did, and then offered the Crown and Government to the Prince of *Orange*, by this Time made King of *England*, and he did most graciously accept of their Offer. And, as they had created him their *King*, so, in Return, for he would not be short of them in Civility, he created them his first, and indeed his only, *Parliament*; being so fond of them, that he continued them all his Life, and also took Care they should outlive himself six Months, which they did. So that the last Session of the Revolution-convention-parliament, chosen in the Manner I have told you, did sit and do Business since this Queen came to the Throne.

So soon as he had made them a *Parliament*, he and they agreed to confirm all that they had done as a *Convention*. Then Prelacy was abolished, and the bishops no more looked upon as a Part of the Constitution: But they did not pretend Episcopacy was sinful; only they said, it was not agreeable to the Inclinations of the People; the Meaning of which was, they did not *like* it, and had a Mind to possess themselves of the Bishops Power, Lands, and Revenues; and they did not so much as offer to keep the Bishops in their Posts upon any Terms whatsoever; so that they never had an Opportunity of declaring their Favour or Dislike to the Revolution, as Bishops in Parliament. And that they might not lose the Name of *three Estates* of Parliament, though the Bishops were turned out, they called the Lay-nobility the first Estate, the lesser

fer Barons the second, and the Burghs the third, as formerly.

Upon this noble Foundation of the Inclinations of the People, Presbytery was then established, and all the many cruel and barbarous Hardships committed by the Rabble in some *western* Shires, (where Presbytery had, and has still the greatest Hold) upon the Bodies and Goods of the Episcopal Clergy, were confirmed by Act of Parliament, without allowing them even what they had laboured for, before they were turned out of their Livings and Cures. Nor did the Parliament take any Care how either the Bishops or the abdicated Clergy or their Families should subsist. Our first Reformers did otherways; for they allowed the popish Bishops a handsome Maintenance for their Lives; but the modern Revolution-presbyterians know the Value of Money too well to part with it willingly.

Then Presbyterian Judicatories were erected very near of Kin to the *Spanish* Inquisition, before which it has always been Crime enough to infer Deprivation, if one is Episcopal.

Then followed the War in the *Highlands*; and after the Death of the Viscount of *Dundee*, and some other fruitless Attempts in favour of King *James*, the *Highlanders* at last laid down their Arms, and swore Allegiance to King *William*: And such of them as had been in Arms against him, by Articles, came under his Protection; amongst which were the People of *Glencoe*, who had Protections signed and delivered to them by Authority, to secure their Safety; which, notwithstanding,

Then

Then followed the famous Massacre of *Glen-roe*; in which however not near so many were murdered as were designed for Slaughter, Providence favouring them with a hard Season, in which many of them escaped. This Massacre had no Foundation in our Law, as was found by that Session of the Parliament which sat in the Year 1695, which declared it a barbarous Murder. But neither the Contrivers nor the Executioners were punished.

Then came on the Affair of *Darien*, which being a Business of Trade, and not agreeable to the *Dutch*, nor to those in the *Dutch* Interest in the Councils of King *William*, the *Scots* were discouraged and disappointed. For in that whole Affair King *William* was pleased to act more like *Stadtholder* of *Holland* than King of *Scotland*; for he forbad Wood and Water to all *Scots* Subjects in the *West-Indies*, though never known to be denied to *Jew* or *Turk*.

Afterwards came on the *Union*; by which our Nobility have not near so extensive Privileges as they had before it: and indeed we, the People, who were at that Time out of Doors, were such Fools as to fancy the Parliament, which made the Union, had not Power enough to make such great and material Alterations in our Constitution; especially considering we were then persuaded also that three Parts of four of the Nation were against it: Nor did we then believe it was in the Power of the Nobility to relinquish their hereditary Privileges and Birthrights, upon any Consideration, or for any Sum or Equivalent; so ignorant were we: But we soon were undeceived, and found we judged wrong.

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The Union has restricted the Representation of *Scotland* to a small Number; I think pretty near to that Number which *Oliver* allowed when he made an Union by Proclamation; that is, the *Scots* bear now much about the same Proportion to the *English* in Parliament that *Oliver* allowed them then.

We that were not Members of that Parliament which made the Union, were then under another great Mistake. For we had got a Notion, that, in the Union, there was a *Stipulation*, and that all the Articles of Union were to remain just as they were then agreed to; but in this we have likewise since seen our Mistake in several Instances; as in the Laws of Treason, in the Management of our Courts of Justice, particularly that which we call the *Justice-court*, the Power of which is taken away in Effect by Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

We were also mistaken about the Communication and Increase of Trade; by which we fancied we would soon become very rich.

And we were as much mistaken about Taxes as any Thing; for we had the Folly to think a *British* Parliament would no more have taxed our Linen, than the *English* Woolen Cloath. I only mention these Things, to shew you how little we poor Out-lyers know of Politicks, in Comparison of those who are admitted into the Secret of Affairs. However, I hope all that comes to pass happens for the best.

And now, Sir, I have given you, what I promised you at the Beginning of my Letter, a short History of Facts, wherein our present Circumstances in *Scotland* differ from what they were be-

before the *Revolution*, and which some old-fashioned People have thought fit to call by the ugly Words of a *total Subversion*. And now I beg Leave to sum up what I have said; and I think all the material Alterations of our Constitution by the Revolution are reducible to these following Heads.

I. Our ancient hereditary Monarchy was made elective upon the Forfeiture of King *James VII*.

II. One entire Estate of Parliament, and that the first too, was destroyed together with the *Lords of the Articles*; till then understood to be an essential Part of our parliamentary Constitution, and a material Branch of the Royal Prerogative for many Ages.

III. Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbytery was established upon the Inclinations of the People, tho' not the fourth Part of the People of *Scotland* were then Presbyterian; and the Episcopal Clergy were deprived of their Property, and sent a-grazing without so much as any Crime alledged against them, and without any Equivalent given them for their *Property*.

IV. The Method of electing the whole third Estate of Parliament was altered by a foreign Prince, without an Act of Parliament.

V. A Convention, which when duly summoned by the Crown, and by our Law, could not meddle in any Business but Taxes, forfeited an hereditary King, in Possession, and gave the Crown to a Stranger, and changed the whole Government, Ministry, and Administration.

VI. A Parliament continued to sit and act for many Years, without ever being summoned as

a Parliament; but only transubstantiated from a Convention, called as above.

VII. Putting Subjects to Death, after they had sworn Allegiance, and who had signed Protections in their Pockets from the Government, by Way of military Execution, without legal Trial, was then first introduced.

VIII. The first Instance of a King's prohibiting Wood and Water to be given to People he owned for Subjects, and that owned him to be their King, lest these Subjects should enlarge their Trade upon the Foot of an Act of Parliament, solemnly given them by himself, appeared in the Affair of *Darien*, which cost *Scotland* a very great Sum of Money, &c. And which, if they had got Leave to go on with, might have given the *Spanish West-Indies* to *England* a good While ago: but this would have anger'd the *Dutch*.

IX. By the Union the Parliament of *Scotland* is gone and extinguished, and the Representation of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Britain* is, in the House of Commons, but one single Member more than the County of *Cornwal* sends alone: and there are but sixteen Peers allowed to sit in the House of Peers; whose Footmen can be made hereditary sitting Peers of *Great-Britain*, tho' their Lordships cannot.

These I take to be the most material Alterations, and I have expressed them in as little Compass as I can: And I am sure I have kept my Word in making no Commentary nor Observations upon them, and have only set down plain Facts.

And now I beg Leave to say, that if some episcopal People in *Scotland* be less passionately fond of the Revolution, or not so mighty well affected

affected to it, as many of their good Friends in *England* wish they were; will not the Treatment they met with from and under the Revolution make their Apology in some Measure? If this were the Case of the *English* Clergy, how would they like it? Especially since they have never in the least given any Disturbance to even their Persecutors and Devourers, the Presbyterians; far less still to the Government, under which by Principle they live peaceably and quietly: And tho' their Consciences be somewhat more scrupulous than some wish they were, yet surely they are no worse than *Jews*, who in the publick Courts are not sworn upon the Gospels, but upon the Law of *Moses*; and who have Leave to worship God in their own Way, tho' they deny that Christ is come; or than Quakers, who are dispensed with from swearing at all; or than *Socinians*, who have publick Meetings in *London*. No, they are true Christians, and sound Protestants too, who hold the same Faith with the Church of *England*, and worship God, when they may, by the same Liturgy with her.

I am,

Amsterdam,
March 26. N. S.

1712.

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

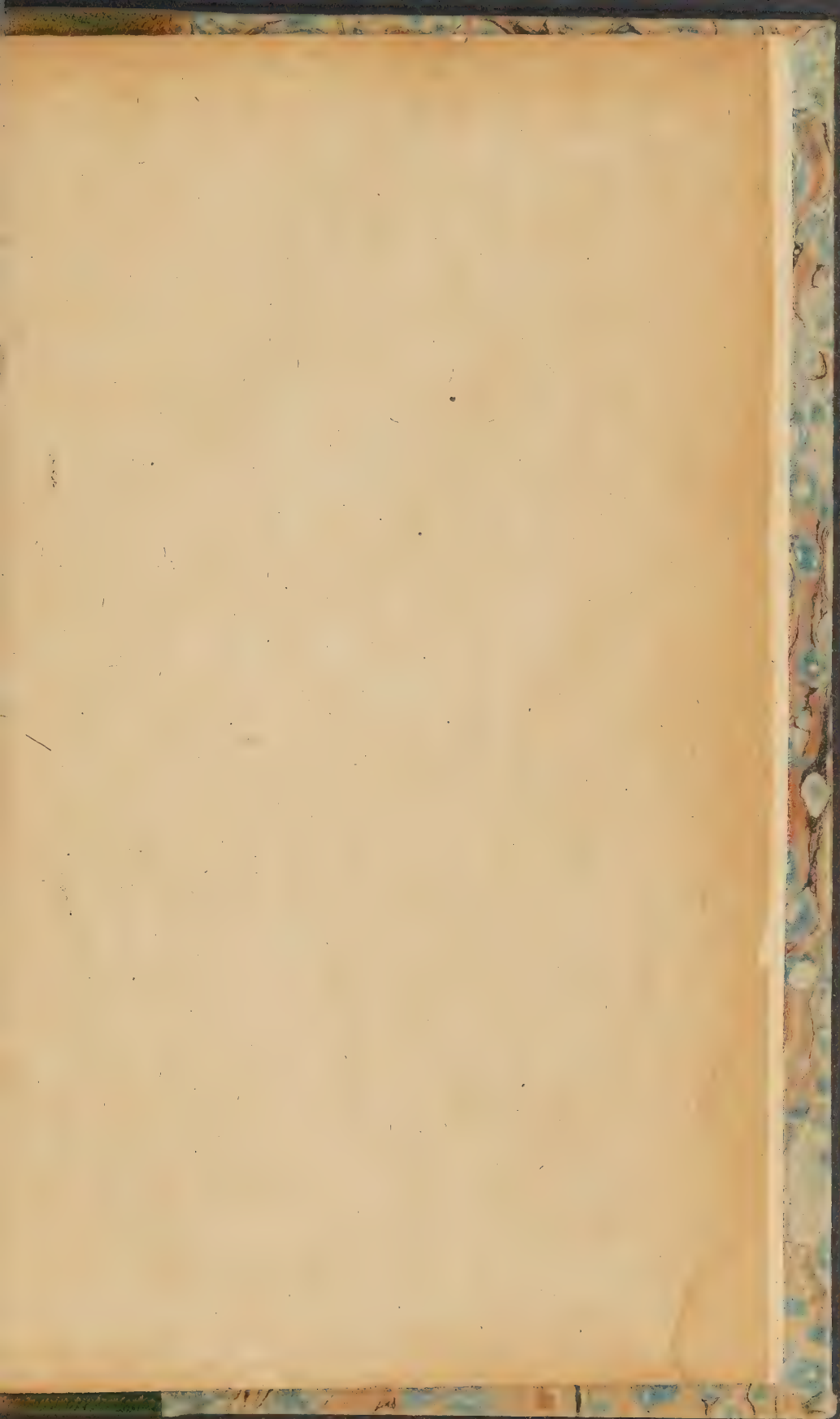
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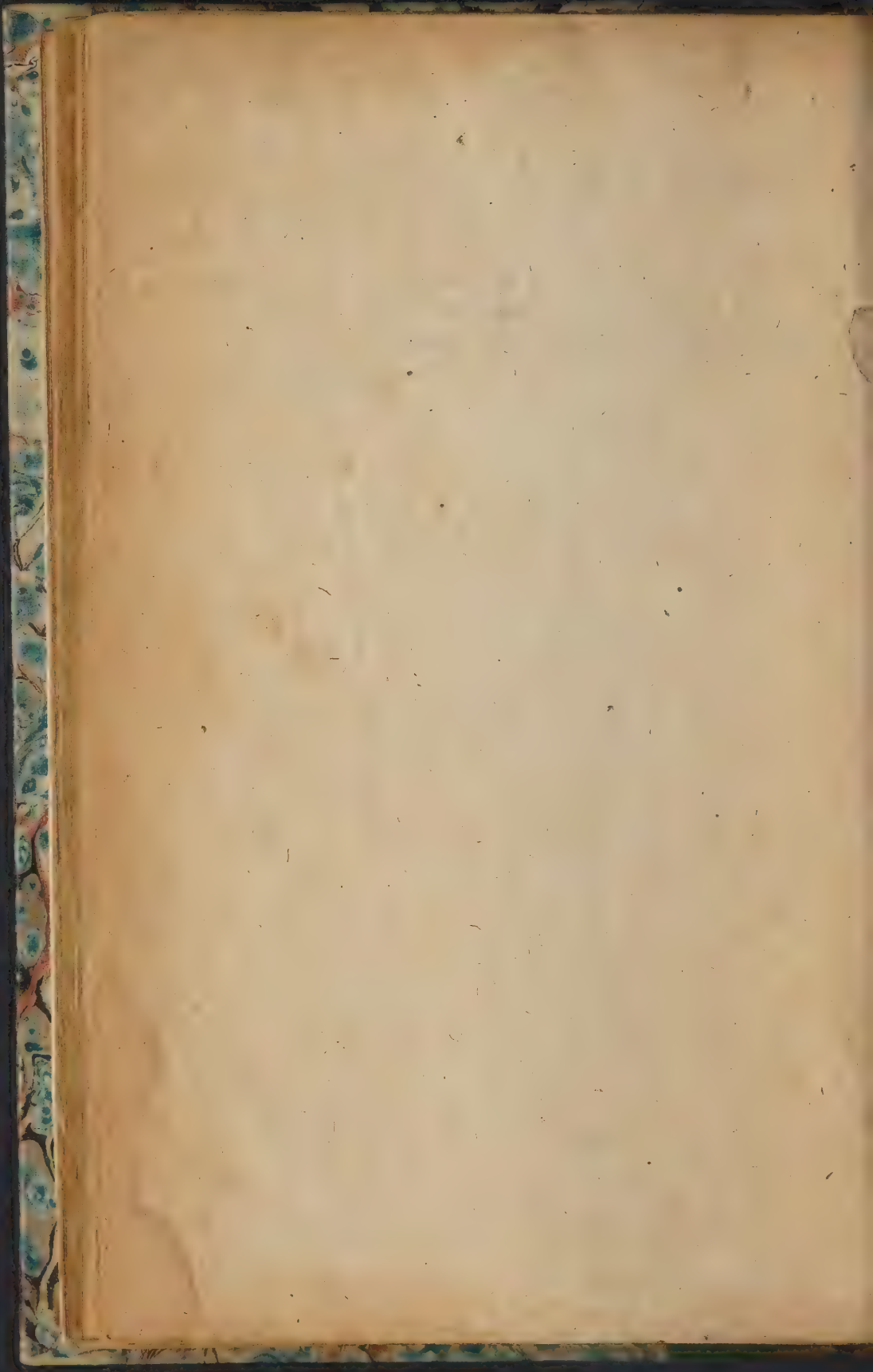
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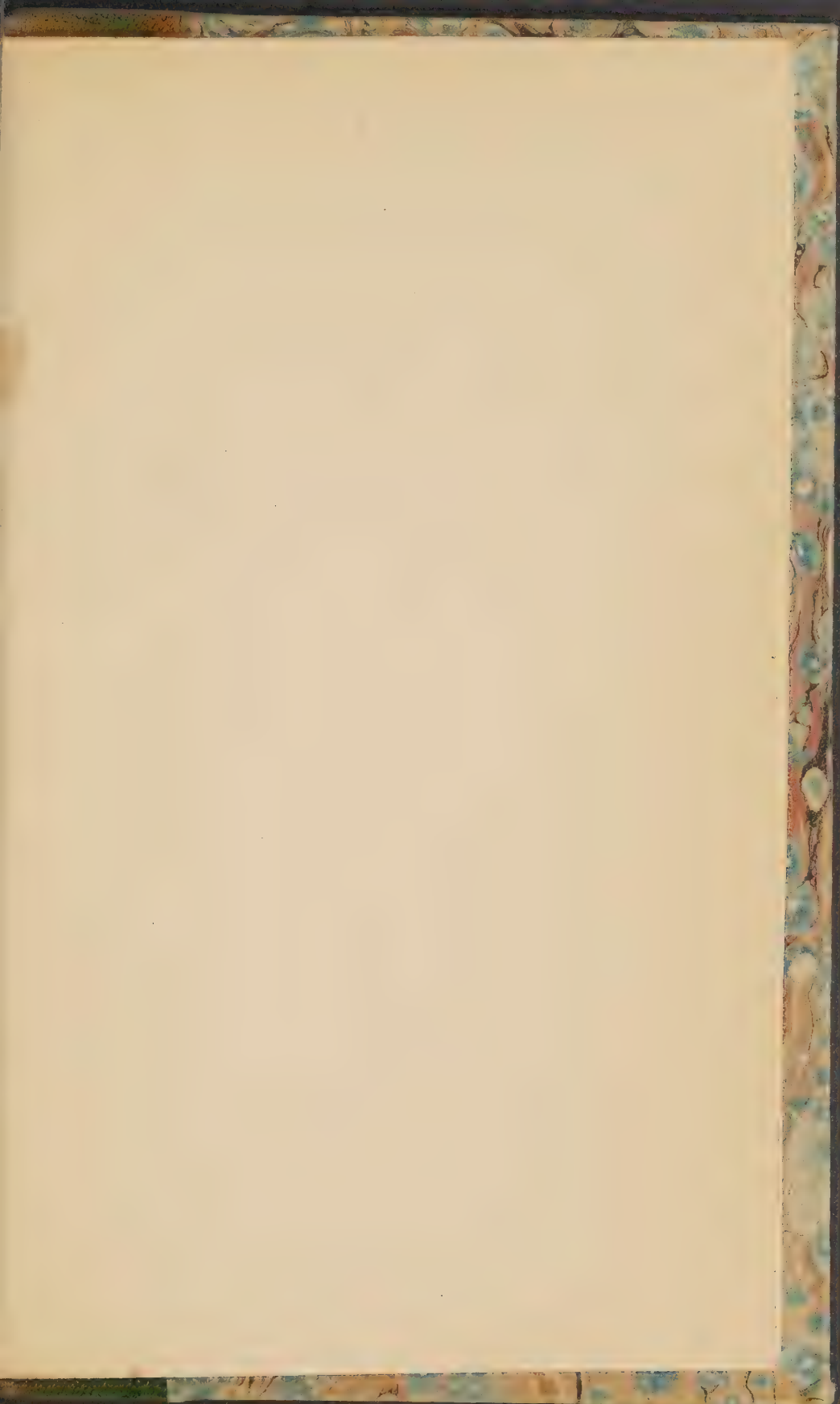
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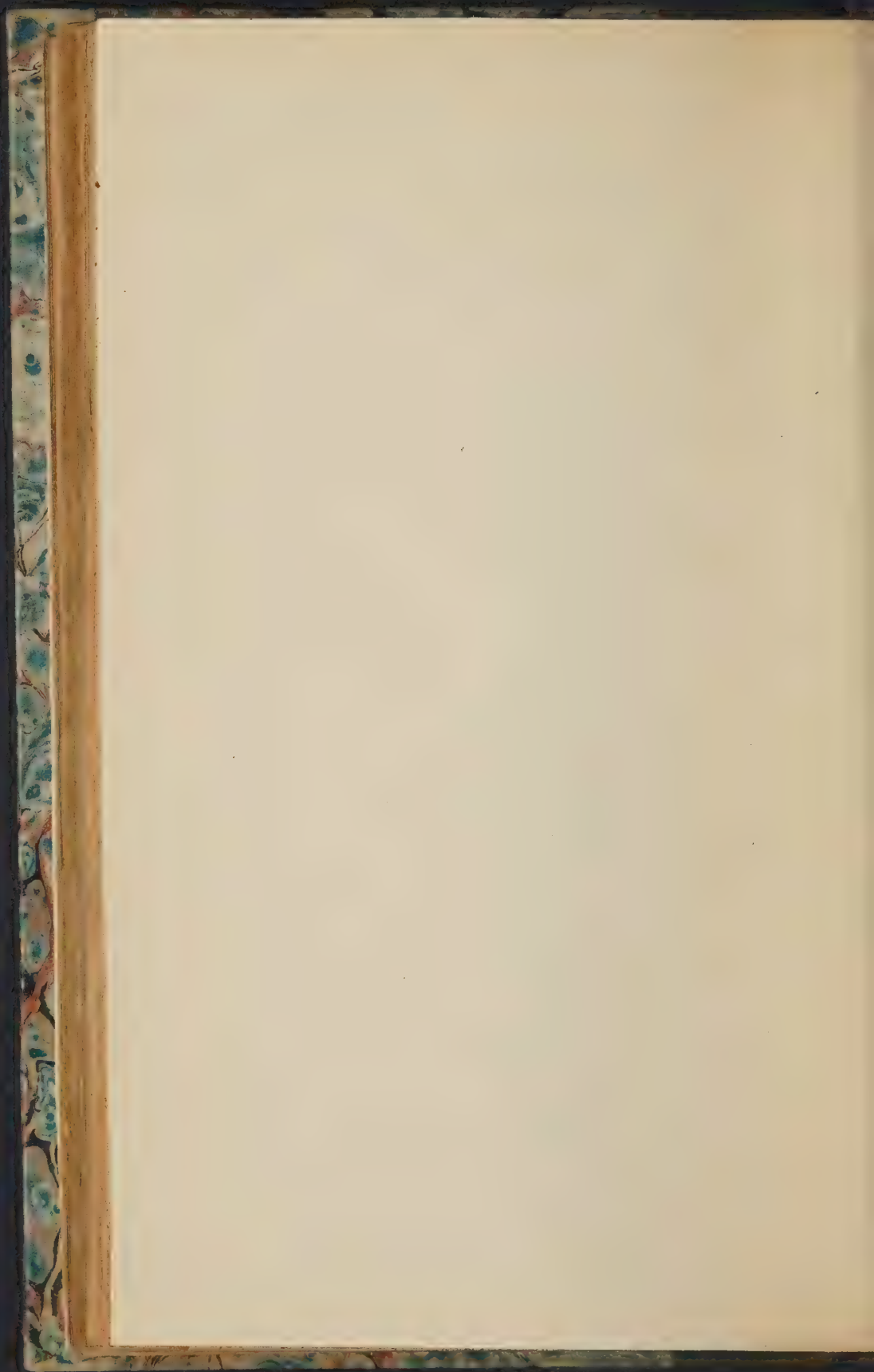
I expect Mr. *Review* and Mr. *Observer* will discharge all their Artillery against me; but, if they can disprove what I assert is Fact, they are welcome.

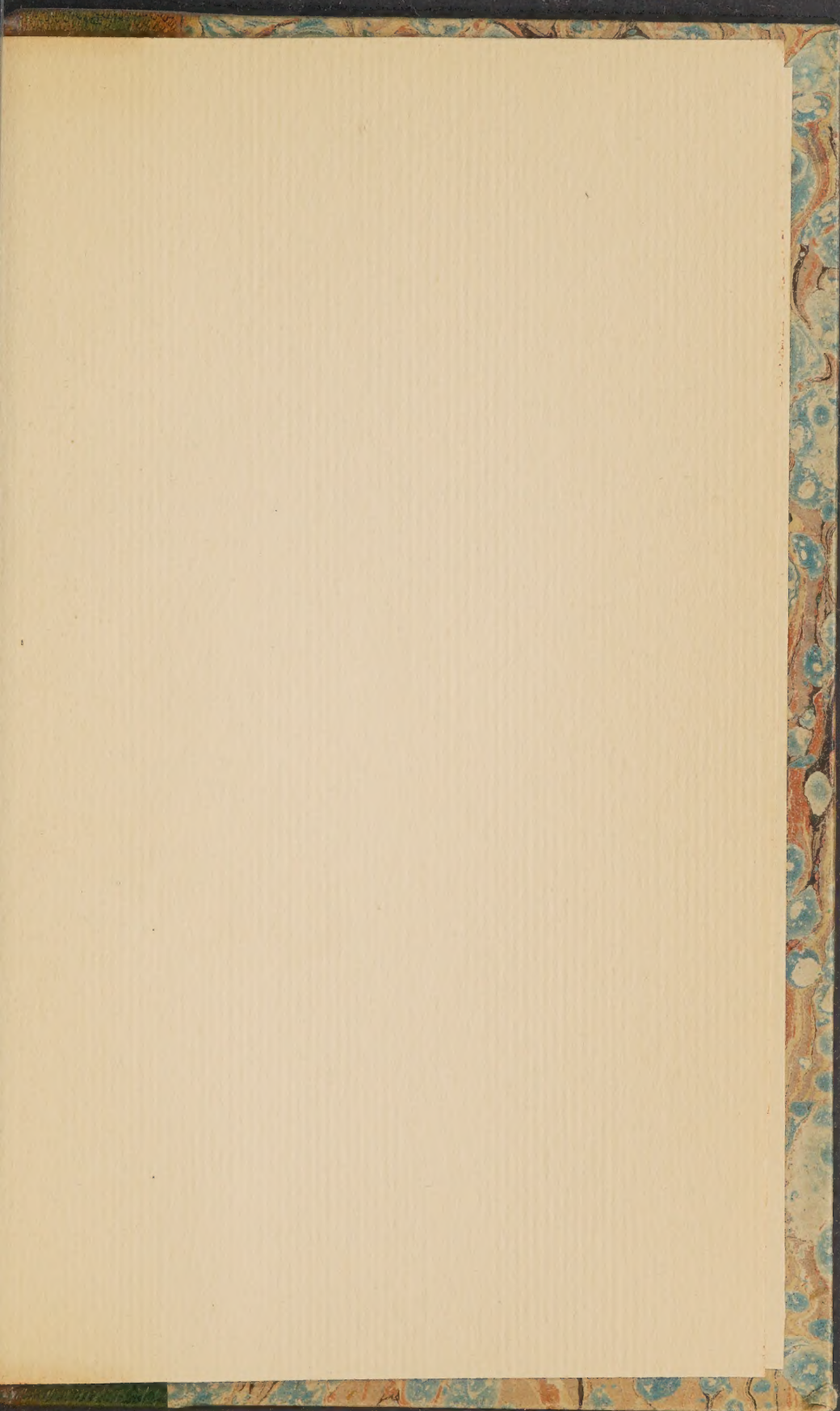
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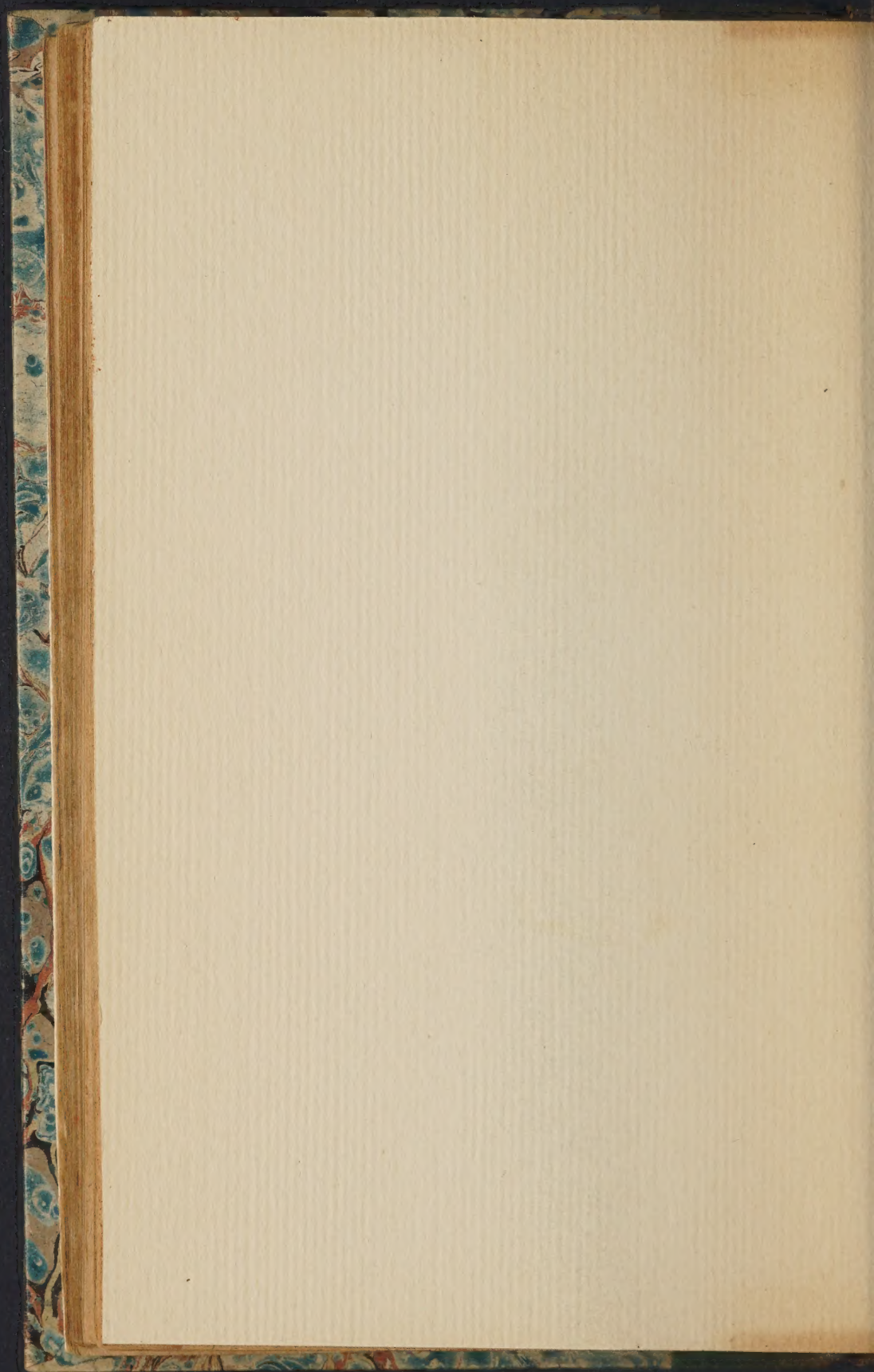












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